
A
LETTER

FROM

RALPH ANDERSON, Esq.

TO

SIR JOHN SINCLAIR, BART. M. P. &c.

ON THE NECESSITY OF AN

INSTANT CHANGE OF MINISTRY,

AND AN

IMMEDIATE PEACE.

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INSTANT CHANCE OF MINISTRY

AND

IMMEDIATE REPLY

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TO

SIR JOHN SINCLAIR, BART. M. P. &c.

ON THE NECESSITY OF AN

INSTANT CHANGE OF MINISTRY,

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IMMEDIATE PEACE:

IN ORDER TO RENEW THE *CIRCULATION* OF COIN, TO
REVIVE *PUBLIC* AND *PRIVATE CREDIT*, AND TO *SAVE*
THE *BRITISH CONSTITUTION* FROM UTTER RUIN.

Te, DEMETRI, teque, TIGELLI,
Jubeo plorare.

HOR.

Parcite dignitati D. LENTULI, si ipse pudicitiae, si famae suae,
si diis aut hominibus unquam ullis pepercit. Ignoscite P.
CITHEGI adolescentiae, nisi jam patriae bellum fecit. CATO.

While the warm blood bedews my veins,
And unimpair'd remembrance reigns;
Repentment of my country's fate,
Within my filial breast, shall beat;
And spite of her insulting foe,
My sympathizing verse shall flow;
Mourn! hapless, *lost* Britannia, *mourn*
Thy BANISH'D PEACE, thy LAURELS TORN!

SMOLLET.

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1797.

RALPH ANDERSON, Esq.



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A LETTER

TO

SIR JOHN SINCLAIR, &c.

SIR,

HISTORY presents no example of a crisis in the public affairs of any Nation, more terrible than that which now menaces ruin to the prosperity of the British Empire. We held in our hands the political balance of Europe: but we have destroyed the fulcrum, and dashed in pieces that scale to which we strove to give the preponderancy. We have prodigally spilled the very life's blood of the state, to quench a wide-wasting fire, which only spreads and rages so much the more, for all our efforts to extinguish it. The master-springs are crushed, which gave motion to the wheels and to all the machinery of our Commerce. The goddess-form of Public Credit, is seen to be suddenly transformed, as by the mischievous spell of some *accursed necromancer*, into a shadowy, loathsome, withered witch. The fingers of Manufacture are
benumbed;

benumbed ; her limbs are distorted ; her joints are stiffened. Even your own Agriculture, in spite of whatever science and patriotism can do to sustain and cheer her, feels her strength palsied, sees her prospects blasted : For it is probable, that, since the farmers cannot, this year find a market for their grain ; there will hardly be grain for the market, next year. The cow, to use a homely allusion, has been milked, till her udder yields no longer milk, but blood to the milker's pressure. We are encompassed with evils which no rhetoric can exaggerate. Even those, whose hearts were never agitated by the cares of patriotism ; who have no feeling but to the touch of coin, no sight but to its glitter, no ear but to its clink, no smell but to its odour, no taste but to its flavour ; are at length, awakened by the total disappearance of their only good, to ask "*whether aught may yet be done, to save the country ?*" Never before was the news of a naval victory received by Britons with so little gratulation and joy, as were excited by the late success of the fleet under *Sir John Jervis*. But who could indulge in emotions of triumph, while the funeral-knell of the BANK OF ENGLAND was ringing in our ears ? *Britons* are absolutely *heart-sick* of victories which serve only to encourage that inimitable perseverance, with which Ministers pursue, through good report, and through bad report, the final ruin of their country.

In

In this state of our national affairs, if there be yet any hopes of salvation to an Empire tottering to its fall; these must receive their completion, chiefly from the public virtue of those members of Parliament, who are not the *ames damnées* of either Ministry or Opposition.—Ministers, of themselves, make a salutary alteration of their measures! They have, in truth, neither the *heads* nor the *hearts* to do so. *Can the Ethiopian change his hue; or the leopard, his spots?*—I should as soon expect a sow, to cleanse its own sty, or a monkey, to solder the china it has broken. It is the greatest evil of vice and folly, that he who has once done ill, is almost always led to follow it out, from worse to worse.—*Who* would suppose, that any good is to be hoped from the mere Creatures of Ministry? from those who, if *Mr Pitt* should move, that *Mr Fox* is a *Wolf*, would earnestly second and support the motion;—and then if the *Premier* should, by way of amendment, move to leave out *Wolf*, and instead of it, insert *Lamb*,—would, with no less earnestness, support the amendment?—*Nemo, hercule, nemo!*—Opposition, whatever their talents and virtues, have opposed too uniformly, too intemperately, with too much of selfish passion, to be unsuspiciously called in, as the saviours of their country, amid the difficulties of the present crisis. They have professed democratical principles which if applied, at present, to the conduct of the British government,

vernment, would dissolve our *Constitution*, even as rapidly, as the saliva and gastric juice of an American snake, are said to dissolve the hide, hair, flesh, blood, and bones of a deer or a buffalo. No; the independent, enlightened, honest, and sober, yet-vigorous-minded Country-gentlemen, if such there be in Parliament, are they from whom alone can be expected those wise and patriotic exertions which may yet have power to snatch Britain from the fatal grasp of her Evil Genius.

You, Sir, ever since your entrance upon Public Life, have been supposed by many of your friends, to act an uniformly honest, independent, and zealously patriotic part. Your time has been divided between literature, public business, and the concerns of rural and commercial œconomy. You have formed bold, patriotic projects; and you have been successful in carrying them into execution, to a degree that proves you to be more than a mere projector. The principle of your public life has been; *Ad consilium de republicâ dandum, caput est, nosse rempublicam*. And the time you have given to enquiries of public œconomy, the books you have written, the collections you have made, are such as may reasonably lead us to suppose you one of the ablest masters of this science, who are now in Europe. At this time, therefore, the eyes of your country must of course be turned upon you for good; and the tenor of conduct you shall

now

now hold, must either confirm and exalt, or quite destroy the reputation of your abilities and public virtue.

It is on this account, I have chosen to address to you, Sir, some observations which have occurred to me, upon the causes of the present deficiency of *specie* in Great Britain,—the effects which must inevitably flow from it,—the best means for its remedy,—the necessity of an instant change of ministry, and an immediate peace. By offering this address, I am far from wishing to insinuate, that my views and principles are yours. Neither do I mean to affirm to the public, that my present views of your patriotism and political talents, are not too favourable,—or perhaps too unfavourable.

I. THE WEALTH OF NATIONS consists altogether in MEN, and in the MEANS BY WHICH MEN ARE SUPPORTED. These means are, the *earth* and its *natural productions*; human *labour*; human *ingenuity* and *thought*; those *new products* which the toil and contrivance of man call forth from the augmented fertility of Nature, with those *improved natural productions*, of which the utility for the support of life, is increased by changes wrought upon them, with the hand of Art; and those *signs of all the other objects of value*, by the intermediate use of which, the productive powers of human thought and toil, are multiplied a thousand-fold.

MEN

MEN, are themselves, the principal material of the wealth of Nations. The want of society is the first of the necessities of human life. A parent, a brother, or a friend, can do me ten thousand times more good, than can an ox, a sheaf of corn, or an apple-tree. All that is valuable in human possessions, is produced from the combination of the energies of man with the fertilities of Nature. A plentiful and increasing population has ever been accounted the most precious opulence of a state.

Human life owes its sustenance, in the first instance, to the EARTH which gives man a local habitation, and to that SPONTANEOUS BOUNTY with which the earth every where presents, in greater or smaller abundance, the means of food, raiment, and shelter, to mankind. These are materials of national wealth, subject to be acquired almost by mere occupancy alone, without the exertion of ingenuity or toil. The abundance or the paucity of these, in any particular situation, bestows upon men, *natural* advantages, or subjects them to inconveniencies, just as does the possession of genius and active vigour, or the want of them. They constitute a fund of *natural* riches, independent of human care or labour.

The LABOUR of men, is another material of national wealth, distinct from their mere existence. It is the actual agency of the artisan and the husbandman, employed in calling forth a new abundance

dance from the bosom of nature ; or in accommodating more perfectly to the use of man, whatever productions nature, either spontaneously, or by cultivation, yields. It may be contemplated, either in actual exercise ; or as existing potentially, in that maturity of strength, that apt soundness and dexterity of the organs of sensation, those habits of assiduous toil, and that cheerful volition to renew our toils with incessant diligence, which truly constitute the powers of labour. Of all the materials of human wealth, this is the most entirely within the command of every man. In the rude ages of society, however, men labour little ; and even that little labour is often unskilfully directed. While society advances in civilization, the quantity of the labour of its members, is continually augmented. Both in the rude and in the polished states of society, a large proportion of human labour is, unfortunately, always wasted in useless, *unproductive* activity ; serving neither to augment the fertility of nature, nor to render her productions more powerfully and directly beneficial toward the support of human life.

Although no useful labour can be exercised, without a certain concomitant exertion of thought, which may seem to be, as it were identified with the labour which it directs ; yet, there is also a HIGHER ENERGY OF MIND, beneficial to the sustenance and improvement of human life and happiness,

ness, which deserves to be regarded as an important, separate material of national wealth. The genius of the *mechanist*, whose engines enable one man to execute as much labour, as could be formerly executed by fifty: the *merchant*, whose attentions to the wants of different markets, continually strengthen, multiply, and extend all the springs of industry; the *moralist*, whose instructions enforce moderation in enjoyment, and vigorous diligence in exertion; the *politician* and *legislator*, whose wisdom regulates and maintains the order of civil life; make, all, a mighty addition to the fund of the *productive powers* of the society to which they belong.

Nothing among the powers and employments of associated men, can be absolutely unproductive; except those of the idle possessors of hereditary wealth, who considering themselves in no other light, than as *Fruges consumere nati*, are well content,—merely to draw nutrition, vegetate, and rot; those of the minions and domestics,—toad-eaters, hair-dressers, whores, milliners, and valets, whom such wretched possessors of undeserved opulence, withdraw from the proper service of society, to the ignominy of ministering to *their* false pleasures; those of infants whose powers have not yet gained due vigour, of the sick whose energies are for a time unnerved, of the aged whom the decays of nature have again reduced to the helplessness of childhood

childhood ; and except too, those of the thief and robber, who pillage and consume that which honest industry hath produced,—of the mercenary soldier and the assassin, who strive to exterminate man himself from the face of the earth,—of the GUILTY MINISTER, who with the potent malignity of the *Arimanius* of ancient Persian mythology, palsies all the energies of whole empires, by every dash of his pen annihilates the produce of the annual labour of millions, at every *pereat* of his voice consigns myriads of his fellow-creatures to the grave !

The useful productions of nature are subject to be multiplied or improved by the labour and ingenuity of man. But, human art can act, only in working beneficial changes upon that which nature presents. The products of art, are but partially such ; for it is nature which always furnishes the basis and the raw material. Now, these JOINT PRODUCTS OF NATURE AND HUMAN INDUSTRY, are the results of the exerted utility of all the before-enumerated materials of national wealth. They consist in animals and vegetables produced in greater abundance, and made more useful to man, by domestication and culture ; in fossil and mineral substances, and in the surface and soil of the earth itself, appropriated, and dug up, and cultivated, and wrought a thousand ways for our use ; in all the ultimate modifications into which art works either the products of animals and vegetables, or brute in-

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animate matters, in order to fit them for food, raiment, and household-shelter to man. In the infancy of social life, men possess little of this article of national wealth. While civilization and refinement advance ; new quantities of the produce of ingenuity and labour are continually treasured up ; for no community of men ever consume, in any ten years, the whole produce which nature and their own industry have supplied to them, during that period. Wars, emigrations, and revolutions, from time to time, waste this accumulated produce. Unwise and unjust government checks and prevents the accumulation. In this wealth, Great Britain is probably now ten times as rich as it was at the æra of the Norman conquest. It might have been perhaps ten times as rich as it is, had it not been for those wars, foreign and intestine, in which the British nations have been engaged during more than four-fifths of the time which has elapsed, since the battle of Hastings. While the progress of refinement and civility, advances still higher and higher ; the ratio of the enlargement of the stock of society, by the accumulation of its surplus produce, becomes continually greater.

The last of the means which men in society employ as necessary to their support, and which therefore compose the wealth of nations ; are, those

COMMERCIAL SIGNS OF ALL THE OTHER OBJECTS

OF VALUE, which are continually circulated in exchange for them. These signs are of two sorts.

The *principal* class of them, consists of objects fitted to become universal, circulating signs of value, by their intrinsic worth,—their indestructibility, their rarity, their unchanging usefulness at all times and in all places, their convenient divisibility. Such are, particularly, the precious metals; gold, silver, platina,—if we could procure it in sufficient abundance, even copper or brass. In the ruder periods of the progress of social life, various other objects of fancied or of real, intrinsic value, and among these, grain, cattle, pearls, feathers, shells, have been applied to the same uses. Mankind have, in general, throughout all countries, and in all ages, used for their money, those objects which of all that were in this or that particular age or country known, were the most universally valued, the least destructible, the most easily divisible, the most conveniently transferable in the exchange of commerce. It is, as possessing these qualities in the most eminent degree, that those *metals* which we denominate *the precious*, have at length come to be universally employed, in preference to all other matters, for the *money* and *coin* of all civilized nations.

Even this *primary class* of the commercial signs of value, requires to have its uses in circulation aided and regulated by the faith of governments, and

and by the authoritative wisdom of laws. Hence arise the application of tests of purity and standard-weights, and the origin of coinage. Where there is a sensible scarcity of those primary, commercial signs, mankind are forced to have recourse, for a circulating medium of value, to the faith of private integrity, to the stronger faith of associated corporations, to the honour and stability of governments, to the beneficent sanctions of laws, to those means which are provided in the art of writing for the record of our thoughts, designs, and contracts. Promises given barely in word, and without any solicitous attestation of witnesses; covenants contracted verbally, but formally, and in the presence of witnesses; *promissory notes* or *bills* recording between private individuals, a resolution and an expectation of payment to be made at a future time, for something which is now due; *bills of exchange*, making something payable at one place, and to one person, which is properly due at another place, and to another person: All these are, in fact, so many *varieties of a secondary species of commercial signs of value*, the use of which is suggested by the scarcity of the *primary* and more universal signs; and which are valuable only in proportion to the integrity and the capacity of those persons upon whom the responsibility of the contract rests. This *secondary species of the commercial signs of value*, are inferior to the *primary*: because

because the *precious metals* are of universal currency, and when delivered, finally complete every transaction of sale and purchase in which they are employed; but promises and paper-money are payable only within that comparatively narrow circle in which the responsibility of those on whose credit they rest, is sufficiently known and respected; nor do promises and paper-money necessarily perfect those mercantile transactions in which they are used. The silver and gold of Britain, are eagerly received for the teas, porcelain, and silks of China: but, the Chinese would, even before the commencement of the present war with France, have rejected the promissory note of a British banker, if offered to them in payment; as scornfully as every *London* and *Edinburgh* shopkeeper would, at this moment, do, if it were possible for him to reject such notes, and yet keep his shop at all open.

Now, these commercial signs of value; whether *primary* or *secondary*; whether bullion, *coins*, or *paper-money*; derive from their operation in commerce, an actual value as means for the sustenance and the improvement of human life, similar to that of mental ingenuity, or of the machines for the abridgement of labour. They arm, as it were, the human hand with a lever with which it may move the very globe. They constitute *the spirit of animation*, wanting which, the whole system of human industry

industry were but an inert, paralytic trunk*. But for them, art could never have been cultivated, life could never have been refined, we should not have had a millionth part of that labour which is now exercised, nor of that opulence which is now accumulated upon the earth.

While *coin* and bullion possess an intrinsic and independent value: *paper-money* has no value, otherwise than as the representative of honest, inviolable faith, and of coin or commodities. In the progress of human industry and civilization, coin and paper-money are always employed together, for the purposes of traffic. During the ruder periods of this progress, indeed, while the morality of mankind is, as yet, far from being generally and steadily upright; while their social intercourse, is far from easy, extensive, or intelligent; while their governments are far from stable, enlightened, or just: *paper-money* has not, cannot possibly have, any very general reception, or important use in commerce. To infant-traffic, the precious metals are, in some manner, every thing. Paper-money owes its first eminence in commerce, to those circumstances which gradually create, in the *lending* and the *exchanging* of money, a new and peculiar branch of traffic. Before the utilities of commerce had taught the feudal governments of Europe to give it that liberal and steady protection, without which, they could not

* See Darwin's *Zoonomia*,

win its services; Christian money-lenders were unknown; and *bills of exchange* and *promissory notes* could neither be accepted, nor transferred. Ever since the *Lombards* were permitted to establish themselves in London; the use of *bills of exchange* has been known in England. The continually confirmed stability of governments, the improving equity of laws, the incessantly quickened excitation of industry, the concomitant expansion of all the energies of commerce; ever from that æra, continued to increase the commercial value of paper-money in general, and to render its use more frequent, and more universal; till *bills of exchange*, and *promissory notes*, were at last made to supply the uses of coin and bullion for more than six tenths of all the demands of commerce. This *secondary* species of the commercial signs of value, represents sometimes *coin* or bullion elsewhere deposited,—sometimes, commodities, the products of labour,—sometimes, the power of labour, to be hereafter exerted. It may stand sometimes upon the faith of single individuals, at other times, on the faith of associated companies, at others, on the faith of nations and of governments. Used in a country without industry, its necessary tendency would be, to banish coin and every other valuable commodity from the land. As it has been used, for these last two hundred years in Europe; it has excited and enlivened industry, in a much higher proportion,

proportion, than that in which it has banished coin. The improving refinement and civilization of Europe, have, at the same time, enlarged the limits of the empire of paper-money; and have made that current through more than one-half of Europe, which formerly could not have been current beyond a narrow circle, measurable perhaps by a radius of forty miles. Aided as well by paper-money, as by coin, the perpetually augmented activity of industry and traffic, have drawn into circulation, each year, new quantities of the precious metals; while they have, at the same time, created new sums of paper-money. Coin and paper-money have had, each, its proper province assigned to it: And to the former have been appropriated the settlement of the balances of foreign trade, and the details of petty traffic at home; while the latter is employed almost exclusively in every other transaction of commerce. That nation which exerts the largest proportion of producing, manufacturing, and commercial industry; must, of necessity, draw into it the largest proportion of the precious metals, and possess the most valuable paper-money. Its opulence in the precious metals and in paper-money, in return, stimulates its ingenuity and industry, and gives it a superiority whether for purchase or for sale, in every market. Its industry, its money, and the advantages which these procure, will all together prevent that rise of its prices, in foreign markets, which might at first

be expected from the abundance of its money at home. All these circumstances, too, will act beneficially upon its government and laws; and, the government and laws must again react beneficially upon them.

Pardon me, Sir, for presuming thus to attempt what you may account a petulant and unseasonable *schooling* of you, upon the first principles of public œconomy. This!—to you! may possibly appear as injudiciously addressed, as was the pedant's harangue to Hannibal, upon the art of war. You yourself, if I be not misinformed, would prefer a page or two of accompts and cyphering in the style of the papers upon the table of the House of Commons,—especially if those pages should happen to include a reasonable quantity of errors,—to all the *œconomical philosophy* in the world. I am well aware, that the mob of readers of political pamphlets, abhor general principles and close ratiocination; And are delighted, above all things, with the admirable manner of *Burke* and *Erskine*; who, scorning all principles and all reasoning;—like *Milton's Satan* in his journey through the empire of *Chaos*,—now soar *audacious in a cloudy chair*; now sink *plumb down, ten thousand fathoms deep*; again are by the *strong rebuff* of some cloud *instant with fire and nitre, driven as many miles aloft*; then find themselves *nigh foundered in a boggy Syrtis*; but nevertheless, over *bog*, over *steep*, through *strait, rough, dense, or rare*; with *head,*
C *hands,*

hands, wings, or feet; still swim, sink, wade, creep, or fly. But, I had a fancy, that the principles which I have thus unfashionably stated; being different from those of *Quesnai*, *Smith*, and even the admirably profound and ingenious *Casaux*; might at least on account of their novelty, deserve a hearing. I shall immediately shew you, that I am to make a close and direct use of them in the farther prosecution of these observations.

II. Well, then, Sir, let us apply these ideas of the materials of national wealth, to the progressive state of Britain. In the language of calculators, the whole national wealth of the British Empire, at the æra of the Revolution, may be estimated at any particular round number; of which, the *land*, the *men*, the *labouring power*, the *ingenuity*, the accumulated *commodities*, the *money*; will compose each so many fractional parts; as they all together make up the whole. Our estimate will stand, as follows:

Total national wealth of Britain, in the year 1688.	100
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Of this sum the bare soil and surface of the <i>land</i>	
may be accounted equal to $\frac{1}{2}$ part, or	20

The <i>population</i> of Scotland, about 1,000,000, of England, 6,500,000,—together 7,500,000; $\frac{1}{2}$ more,	20
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Those cultivated <i>capacities</i> of <i>labour</i> , by which the whole inhabitants of Britain, were, at this time, fitter than savages, to multiply the useful productions	
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ductions of nature, and to accommodate them more perfectly to the sustenance and improvement of human life, might be 15

The *ingenuity* then exercised in Britain, above what was necessary to the exertions of mere peasant and mechanic labour ; but actually augmenting the quantity of the necessaries of life ; might amount to 25

The accumulated *commodities*, consisting in houses and articles of domestic accommodation, all the stock upon the lands, all the apparatus of navigation, commerce, and manufactures ; may be reckoned at 15

The circulating *money* was, at the same time, in coin L. 18,500,000 Sterling ; and, although banks as yet were not, might be, in bonds, promissory bills, and credit, supplying the deficiency of circulating coin, at least other L. 18,500,000 ; in all L. 37,000,000 5

100

To this sum, had the national wealth of Great Britain slowly increased, from the unknown æra of its first population ; amid the unproductive indolence or destructive activity of *savage* life ; amid those miserable changes by which *barbarians* gradually extirpated the first savage inhabitants, and established themselves in *their* stead ; through a long series of wars, foreign and intestine ; under a civil policy which had long been, in almost all its parts, unenlightened and unjust ! At first, probably, the surface of the island, in its natural state, could not be

be worth more than 10 of those 20 parts, at which we have valued it. The first wanderers of the human race, by whom it was peopled, could not be equal to more than 2 of those parts by which we have represented its population. But, these 12 parts were to be at length multiplied to 100!

Since the æra of the Revolution, even bare land and soil; of all the materials of national wealth the least susceptible of a distinct and peculiar improvement; have, however, continued to increase greatly in their separate independent value. All the other articles of our general opulence, have, by the operation of various causes, been astonishingly augmented in their quantity, and in their powers of usefulness. The most eminent of those causes by which the progress of our national opulence, has been, in this period, either favourably or unpropitiously influenced; appear to be; the *improved wisdom* of our *legislation*, together with the *confirmed stability* of our *government*; the *increase* and the *extended diffusion* of our *scientific knowledge*, at once a cause and an effect; the *enlargement* and the *increased frequency* of our *friendly intercourse* with *foreign nations*; the *enthusiasm* with which we have *extended* our *navigation* and our *commerce*; the *multiplied wants* which men of all ranks, have, amidst these things, been taught to feel; those *wars* which, with only some small intervals, have been, throughout this closing century, continually

continually renewed ; the *prodigious increase* of our *paper-money* of various sorts ; the continual *enlargement of our capital* by new accumulations ; and the wonderful *multiplication* and invigoration of the *energies* of our general industry. Among these causes, there is a curious intricacy of relations. They appear to have constantly acted and re-acted upon one another, with a reciprocating force. They are at once the causes and the effects ; the *means* by which our national wealth has been augmented, and the *very things* in which that augmentation consists.

Before the æra of the *Revolution* ; rival families contending for the throne ; the occasional efforts of a turbulent and powerful nobility, to trample under foot the restraints of kingly dominion ; the contests of rabid sectaries in religion ; the struggles between republican licentiousness, and the arrogant pretensions of monarchical power ; the extinction of one species of revenue to the crown, and the difficult creation of another, to supply its uses ; withheld the BRITISH GOVERNMENT from acquiring that firm STABILITY, without which no government can ever duly foster and protect the toils of labour, the studies of genius, or the busy negotiations of commerce. How IMPERFECT was the WISDOM of the British LEGISLATURE till that period ; let the STATUTE-BOOK be consulted ; and its every page will declare ! Could illiterate soldiers ?

diers? Could abject, selfish, narrow-minded bur-
 gesies? Could quibbling lawyers, versant in nought
 but form and precedent; possess that enlightened
 public spirit, that knowledge of the national inter-
 ests foreign and domestic, that acquaintance with
 the true principles of public œconomy, that skill in
 the science of political justice; without which, their
 acts, as legislators, could not be *more certainly* di-
 rected to produce real public good; than can the
 shafts from the bow of a blind man, be aimed at a
 fowl on the wing, or at any fixed mark? Impos-
 sible. All the great agents in the production of
 national wealth, were liable to be almost as often
 thwarted and injured, as they were strengthened
 and improved, by the statutes of the legislature,
 during a great part of that time which elapsed be-
 tween the first foundation of political society in
 Britain, and the æra of the Revolution in 1688.

Since the æra of the Revolution, every effort to
 shake the stability of the British government, has
 been happily frustrated. The energies of the
 Executive Power, have never been, for a moment,
 completely suspended. The course of civil justice,
 has never been stopped up. Public order has been
 still effectually maintained. Under these securities,
 labour could in safety ply the plough, the loom, the
 anvil; commerce could, without fear, expose her
 merchandizes to sale, and was encouraged to pursue,
 with an emboldened spirit of enterprize, all her adven-
 tures

tures of exportation and importation. On the faith of permanent order, and of an equitable distribution of civil justice; *credit* impeded its wings; and *paper-money* and mutual confidence arose, to give to every single pound of circulating coin, the force, and the beneficial agency of more than twenty. The husbandman has been encouraged to ask a lengthened lease, to inclose, to manure, to till his farm; who, under a less stable government, would have been content to live from hand to mouth; and instead of making his fields annually richer and more fertile, would have, every day, reduced them to bleaker desolation and more unproductive barrenness. In a country distracted with continual revolutions, there can never be formed such establishments of manufacture, as those which give wealth and employment to so many myriads of the inhabitants of Britain; and which have had their origin, or have at least grown up to flourish in full maturity and vigour, only within the course of the present century. Villas, palaces, ornamented farm-houses, parks, gardens, pleasure-grounds, such as now cover our Isle, could never have been created amidst those intestine wars, and those changes of government, which, in former centuries, hardly ever left the inhabitants of Britain, so secure in regard to life itself, as that they could have leisure to think of refinement in their accommodations, or of elegant improvements to be made upon their possessions.

possessions. The very increase of the numbers of the human race, has been favoured by that stability of government which Britain has, during these last hundred years, enjoyed ; as it is necessarily checked, impeded, wasted by revolutions, wars, and civil broils.

The ENLIGHTENED WISDOM of the *Legislature* of the British Empire, has, during this period, signally co-operated with the steady energy of its Government, to promote the continual augmentation of the national wealth. Parliaments becoming almost permanent, have thus enjoyed opportunities infinitely better than were formerly possessed, for making themselves acquainted with the true ends of Legislation. The increased activity of the *Press* has given them much more faithful information concerning the wants and wishes of their fellow-subjects ; and has subjected them much more entirely than before, to the influence of Public Opinion. Industry and traffic, they have now aided and fostered by *bounties*, now usefully stimulated by taxation. Learning to provide for extraordinary exigencies of public expence, rather by creating annuities permanent as the Constitution ; than by the sudden demand of enormous imposts which should rob industry of all its Capital : they have thus, as it were, spared from *death*, the goose that gives the golden eggs ; on the condition of sharing the eggs, when they are produced,

ced, instead of destroying them in embryo. Highways, canals, and the improved regulation of the post-office, bespeak their attention to multiply and perfect the means of general intercourse. A thousand improvements have by their care been accomplished upon the system of our Laws civil and criminal, and upon the establishments for the distribution of justice. Provincial distinctions have been removed; and the benefit of equal laws has been extended alike to all quarters of the Empire. Compare the series of the Acts of the British Legislature during the progress of this eighteenth century, with the statutes enacted during the seventeenth, by the respective Parliaments of Scotland and England! You will be half-inclined to think, that you find in the striking differences which that comparison presents, enough to account for all the additions which have been made, in these last hundred years, to the general sum of our national wealth. A well founded confidence in the wisdom and justice of Parliament is now amidst every difficulty and alarm, the best support of the farmer, the manufacturer, and the merchant.

The quantity of the USEFUL INTELLIGENCE, too, of the inhabitants of Britain, increased, since the æra of the *Revolution*, in more than a tenfold proportion to its former increase; itself the most precious of all the materials of national opulence; has, operated, with a prodigiously powerful and benefi-

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cent force, to augment to us, whatever elle is valued as wealth, among mankind. More than two centuries before, had the first faint dawn of reviving literature and science, begun to shed a glimmering twilight of mental illumination over the dungeon-darkness of benighted Europe. The rays of that twilight continued to pour themselves athwart our horizon, with perpetually increasing strength and splendour, until, at length, about the æra from which I date my present observations, the glorious radiance of the rising sun, burst full upon the delighted, admiring, awe-struck world. Have we not, ever since, seen that mighty luminary to advance, in unclouded majesty, rejoicing in his course; not towards a meridian height from which he is again to decline; but to a sublime elevation from which he shall with fixed and unfading splendour for ever irradiate universal nature; and with the exertion of a wonderful, attractive force, which seems to absorb all the system of things, as it were, into his orbit, and to assimilate every other essence with his own?

What new powers of industry and thought have there not been created by the more general diffusion of the arts of reading and writing, throughout Britain, since the Revolution in 1688? It is as if, by the talismanic enchantment of an Arabian tale, so many clods of earth, or logs of wood

had been suddenly *instinct* * with sense and animation; to compose the Court, the army, or the menial servants of some Genie-favoured prince. By the diffusion of those liberal arts, the peasantry of Great Britain have, in the course of the present century, been exalted in dignity of character from the wretched meanness and worthlessness of the *slaves*, to the level of the *Free Citizens*, of the ancient Grecian republics. The excitation of barbarian indolence, to the alert and steady industry of civil life; the mitigation of that ruggedness of temper and manners by which industry was perpetually disturbed; that improved foresight in the peasant mind which makes toil doubly productive by giving it a design, a plan, a ratio, an extended purpose; have been the happy effects of that knowledge and use of letters, which, during the course of the passing century, have become continually more universal among us. Has agriculture become an art formed on scientific principles? Has commerce learned to distinguish through what channels she shall most successfully conduct her enterprizes in order to supply the various wants of mankind? Has science descended into the workshop of the weaver, into the forge of the smith, into the *shafts* and *galleries* of the mine? These are many illustrious and unequivocal instances, in which the advancing knowledge of the present age, has

* Milton.

has signally contributed to enrich Britain with new treasures of national wealth. Go! compare the manufactures of *Manchester* or *Paisley* with those of *Hindooستان*! Which gives the most evenly thread? The greatest quantity of labour performed by the fewest hands? The highest wages to the operative artisan? Yet, the cheapest manufactured goods to the merchant?—If, in all these instances, the manufacturing establishments of Britain, have infinitely the advantage; how has this advantage been acquired; whence it been bestowed; but by the docility of labour submitting to receive the instructions of science; but from the inexhaustible springs of science still diffusing new streams, to water the gardens of art?—Compare any one of those utensils which labour now employs, with any correspondent utensil which the same labour employed a hundred years since; the more convenient utility of the former, is obviously derived from the application of a new knowledge in its construction, which anciently was not possessed. Compare any even of the articles of furniture, used among us in this age, with those which may still remain as monuments of the fashions and manners of the last age; the same improved usefulness,—and from the same cause,—is still strikingly observable. Survey the whole system of productive labour throughout Britain! what the actual toil of the human arm performs, is not a twentieth part of that which mechanical

chanical science, and improved general intelligence enable man to accomplish for the support of his life, and the augmentation of his wealth. Read the annals of science, of learning, of art ! Innumerable are the beneficial inventions and discoveries which they annually add to our former stores. An hundred and fifty years since, almost every thing was to be done by lubbardly labour alone. Now, man speaks, and the powers of nature seem to obey his voice !

When we see a young fool return from his travels on the Continent ; only so much the more insufferably a coxcomb, for having driven post along the great roads of Germany and Italy, and for having exhibited his dear person at the fashionable places of public amusement, in the celebrated capital cities abroad ; we are almost tempted to wish for the good of British society ; that our isle were for ever hidden from the rest of the world, amid the bosom of the surrounding main. But, let the puppy pass by. * A little cool reflection will quickly dispose us to allow, that Britain has been mightily, and in many respects a gainer, by the great extension of our FRIENDLY INTERCOURSE with foreign Countries. Yes : Amid that mutual intercourse of the European nations, in which a Briton in any of the great capitals on the continent, can scarcely feel from any circumstance of strangeness or inconvenience, that he is from home ; there is
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kindled an eminently beneficial and improving emulation in all the liberal and generous arts; there is excited, an eager and most lucrative competition in all the meaner yet honest arts of traffic and mere pecuniary gain. Never shall I be guilty of the blasphemy of denying to the elegant *Arts of design*; while they are not prostituted as the pandars or harlots of vice; the praise of utility to the sustenance and improvement of human life, as undeniably certain, as that of the rustic labour which plants the sections of the potatoe, or scatters the seed-corn in the furrow. But, if in painting, if in sculpture, if in architecture, if even in the enchanting art of English Gardening which we account more particularly our own; there have been any thing attempted or accomplished, among us, in the course of the present century what is fitted to enrich and adorn our Isle, above the haggard nakedness, or the rude barbarian decoration which it formerly exhibited; whence save from the emulation and the imitation of France, of Italy, of Germany, have our superior exertions in all these Arts, caught their primary impulse, and stolen the first models of all that excellence which is now our pride? Our manufactures in woollens, in lins, of leather, of pottery, of iron from the *cast grate* to the spangled steel ornaments which scarcely yield to the lustre of the diamond in the dress of beauty on a birth-right ball; had, none of them, their

their origin absolutely with ourselves. Our intercourse with foreign nations gave us the first hints, the first models of them all. Our emulation of the taste and genius of foreigners, our efforts to outdo them in the competition of the market, are the true springs by whose energies we have seen our manufactures improved to their present envied perfection. Until within the present century, the useful intercourse of the various nations of Europe with one another, had never been half so easy and frequent as it now is. By its increasing frequency, all those nations have been gainers; none, more eminently than we. In the arrangements of the general police, too, how many beneficial plans have we adopted from foreigners? Even where no imitation, but rather the contrary, is suggested by a view of the manners and institutions of foreign countries; still Invention is often awakened to its happiest efforts, by such comparison or contrast of things at home with things abroad. Do I hazard refutation, when I venture to assert, that, had it not been for Descartes's imagination of his *Vortexes*; the discovery of the system of *Gravitation* might probably, not have been made, to immortalize the genius of NEWTON, and, snatching the palm of Science from all other modern nations, to bestow it upon the English?—Have we not recently borrowed from our Gallic enemies, the *Telegraph*,
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more useful than the *Balloon* which they formerly gave us?

The COMMERCE of modern Europe, had its origin in those small cities on the coasts of Italy, from which the navigation of the Mediterranean sea was first renewed, and whose citizens enriched themselves by the importation of the merchandize of the East. All the events of the celebrated crusades, contributed to extend and enliven that commerce. In the mean time, for the navigation of the Northern seas, there sprung up the Hanse towns of Germany and Flanders: and the adventures of traffic, which were conducted upon the Baltic sea and the German ocean, began to bestow wealth, and to excite industry with a power hardly inferior to that of the commerce which Genoa, Florence, and Venice pursued to the eastern limits of the Mediterranean. The Portuguese boldly launched out into the Atlantic, doubled the Cape of Good Hope, and explored a naval passage to the Indian coasts. A yet bolder spirit of enterprise conducted the fleets of Spain straight across the Atlantic ocean, to discover the coasts of a new hemisphere. While these adventures of navigation and commerce were crowned with success the most splendid and astonishing; while it was traffic alone that seemed to bestow the precious metals, which were accounted the very essence of wealth; an enthusiasm of navigation and trade was excited throughout

throughout almost all Europe, which turned the nations to these pursuits, with an ardour much more eager and passionate, than could be in the eye of reason justified by the value of the objects that were held in view, or by the probability there was of obtaining them. The English, in the reigns of Elisabeth and James the First, caught the general impulse, and under its influence, engaged with various success in many expeditions of commerce, colonization, and naval discovery. Emancipating themselves from the dominion of Spain, the Dutch arose as a new nation in the midst of Europe, upon the basis of commercial enterprize, and manufacturing industry. Civil broils, however, the miseries of intestine war, the turbulent fervour of faction, withheld the inhabitants of Britain, during a great part of the last century, from continuing to enrich themselves by the adventures of traffic, with all that industry and success which might well have been expected, after what they had in the days of Elisabeth and James the First, accomplished.

It is from the æra of the Revolution, that we are particularly to date the complete inspiration of that commercial spirit, whose efforts have so prodigiously augmented the national wealth of Britain during the present century. Of Scotland, the whole shipping in the year 1692, four years after the revolution, amounted only to 8,618 tons burthen, equal to the value of L. 25,854 Sterling. In

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the year 1792, the ships registered in Scotland, were, in number 2,143, bearing 162,274 tons burthen, and worth L. 1,298,192 Sterling. In the year 1700, England possessed but 2,281 ships of 261,222 tons burthen. In the year 1792, the number of her ships had been increased to 10,423 of 1,168,468 tons burthen. North America, the West India islands, our settlements in the East, the ports of the Mediterranean sea, Spain, Portugal, France, Germany, Russia and the countries on the Baltic, Ireland, and our own sea-ports in a coasting traffic, have been the principal marts with which we have carried on this commercial intercourse. One successful mercantile adventure has still supplied a new capital to be employed in new and more extensive enterprises, whether of direct exportation and importation, or of a mere carrying trade. This or that article of export, finding a ready sale at foreign markets, has, consequently, been still more eagerly raised or manufactured at home, than it was before. Harbours, canals, shipping constructed to accommodate the increasing wants of commerce, have at once augmented the sunk capital of the nation, and given to trade new powers, by which it is enabled to employ its capital and its knowledge, still more and more beneficially. The surplus wealth acquired by commerce, has, after augmenting the original capital, been naturally used to form also new establishments of manufacture, to build

build towns of sumptuous and elegant architecture, to diffuse new fertility and beauty over the face of the country. Our commercial intelligence has been increased and enlightened by the continued cultivation of commerce. The population of the island has been increased by the increase of the means for the support of human life. That enthusiasm of commerce, which has universally seized the British nation, may have, in some instances, pushed our merchants to speculation and enterprise, too bold and extravagant to be crowned with success. But, it has much more generally acted with the happiest efficacy, and enabled us to accomplish what, even in traffic, mere cool, cautious reason could never have so fortunately achieved. The great extent of the sea-coast of Great Britain, considered with regard to the relative extent of the whole territory of the isle, gives it such advantages for maritime affairs in general, as hardly any other country seems to possess: And, each year, amid all the fluctuations and vicissitudes of national prosperity and calamity; Britons have still continued, during the progress of the present century, to avail themselves with new skill and diligence of those advantages for traffic, which nature and fortune have put into their hands.

During the same period, the WANTS OF OUR LUXURY have been greatly multiplied; and those wants have excited a new anxiety of *thought and labour*

labour, which has been eminently beneficial, to increase the national capital. Clean linens, comfortable rooms in their houses, a well-dressed meal, were little known to the inferior farmers, artificers, and peasantry of Scotland or England, before the æra of the Revolution. But, these are now universally regarded, even among the meanest, as indispensable necessities of life. The teas, the sugars, the cottons, the coffee, the rice, and an hundred other articles which we now generally use, were formerly unknown among us. Food of any sort to stay the rage of hunger, clothing to hide nakedness and defend us from the cold, such household shelter as might in part keep out the rains, winds, and snows of winter, time to be slept away in dozing indolence, were all that the inferior people anciently required in Britain. Since their wants have become so much more numerous, and that mode of life so much more luxurious, with which alone they can now content themselves; their industry and ingenuity have also been excited to action, in a degree proportioned to their growing wants. Every private individual, however humble, now requires a stock in clothes, furniture, house, &c. which would anciently have been sufficient for the accommodation of a person of considerable rank and opulence. As he who has only L. 3 Sterling of yearly income, can never expend out of that revenue, 10 pounds a-year; therefore,

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the labouring peasant and the artisan have been obliged to labour more diligently than before, in a degree proportioned to the increase of their ordinary expence: otherwise the means of that expence, could not be supplied to them. With all other classes of men, the same thing takes place. The busy enterprizes of the merchant, the eloquence of the lawyer, the invention of the scientific mechanist and the chemist, are all, in like manner, stimulated to happier efforts by the desire to supply those wants which luxury alone creates. It is true that luxury withdraws from the service of the useful arts, a few hands, whose labour those arts might happily employ. But, it, on the other hand, more than compensates this evil, by exciting to labour, a multitude who might have lingered life away in brutal indolence, and by quickening the activity, and sharpening the ingenuity of those toils and studies which are dedicated to the utility of mankind. Of all the enjoyments luxury solicits, none are hurtful, save only those which are noxious to health, or which lead us to waste our time and talents without improving exertion. The rest tend actually to augment the felicity of human life. So far, therefore, as the growing luxury of the present age has served only to multiply and refine our real enjoyments; thus far has it been eminently beneficial. That it has been one of the prime causes of the augmentation

mentation of the national wealth of Great Britain, during the present century, is undeniably certain.

But, alas! in how great a part of the time which has elapsed since the Revolution, have the British Nations been involved in war? A war of eight years continuance, ensued from the Revolution itself. Hardly had the Nation begun to turn themselves, after the piece of Ryswick, to cultivate with ardour those arts which belong to Peace; when, on the accession of Queen Anne, another war, more bloody and obstinate than the former, broke out, and continued to waste the strength of Britain, till it was at length with difficulty terminated by the Peace of Utrecht. The rebellion of the year 1715, with the battles which quashed it, afflicted the northern parts of the island, in consequence of the accession of the House of Hanover to the British throne. A second war with Spain, again disturbed the reign of George the First. New wars soon broke out, to occupy the reign of George the Second. As that reign proceeded, by far the greater proportion of its latter part was consumed in war. Of the reign of our present gracious Sovereign, more than one-third, has been already spent in the same melancholy struggles—with our own colonists,—and with our neighbours. It should seem, that, if war be, in truth, unfavourable, as has been supposed, to the increase of general wealth; Britain could not, amid such a series

of wars, have advanced to that height of national greatness and opulence to which it has undeniably attained.

But, the real effects of war upon national wealth do not appear to me, Sir, to have been ever estimated by the writers on financial subjects, with sufficient impartiality and discrimination. One class of writers would persuade us, that war has been generally favourable to the increase of our national wealth. Others represent it as in the last degree destructive of every one of those materials of which the general opulence is composed. Let us try, whether we cannot keep clear of the prejudices and errors of both.

The *first effect of war*, whenever it breaks out, is, to turn the attention of the Government from the fostering of the Arts of Peace, to the raising of the *extraordinary revenue* now wanted, the mustering of the requisite forces naval and military, the planning of the necessary expeditions, and the persuading of the whole nation to take an eager part in the public quarrel.

Its *second effect* is, to produce an uncertain alarm throughout the nation, among all who are deeply concerned in the cultivation of the arts of peace; an alarm which, for a few moments, depresses the value of all paper-money, makes men doubtful in regard to the speculations of trade and the undertakings of manufacture, puts mercantile credit

credit severely to the proof, and seems to threaten the overthrow of all those arts which are not either of indispensable utility, or else established on too broad a foundation of real capital to be easily shaken. This alarm has its origin, however, in mere imaginary fears, rumours, and errors of opinion, all of which arise rather from the false light in which weak and ignorant persons are apt to view any extraordinary event, than from aught in the absolute nature of war itself.

The *third effect of war*, is, to dam up certain of the ordinary channels of traffic, and to open others through which the currents of a new trade are poured with new rapidity and force. Our direct intercourse with the nation with which we go to war, is the first branch of our commerce which war necessarily checks. That nation may still continue to receive our commodities. But, it must now be—either circuitously by the intervention of a third nation, or by the still more pernicious channel of smuggling. Hence arises, a cessation of *orders*, which must, of course, reduce all the small manufacturers, and all those whose only capital is credit and activity, in an instant, to the very verge of bankruptcy. The carrying trade is however taken up without delay, by the commercial nations who remain neutral between those going to war. The *orders* are renewed: and, although under certain disadvantages, the manufacture

facturers resuming their undertakings, go on in their trade, as before.

Those very causes which make us lose considerably out of what we formerly gained by our trade with the nation with which we go to war, act at the same time so as to make us *ourselves* much better customers to our own manufacturers and merchants than we formerly were. War instantly augments to any people, the number of their *unproductive labourers*. It augments also the consumption of the unproductive class, in proportion to their numbers. Clothes, shoes, bread, arms, all the necessaries for our fleets, and armies, all the means of subsidy to our allies, are taken rather from our own merchants and manufacturers, and this necessarily, than from those of other countries. Hence our own consumption of our own productions during war, usually becomes, so long as expedients can be found to support the expence of the war, and so long as public opinion can be maintained in a humour tolerably favourable to it, almost equal to all the trade of which we are otherwise deprived by the war. This event usually operates with a delusive effect, and leads shallow thinkers to imagine, that the prosperity of a country is little or not at all impaired in a commercial view, by the necessary effects of war. But, the truth is, that we are in the mean time incroaching

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ing upon our *accumulated capital*; and to support our wars, are still compelled to squander away, more or less of *it*. Providing by the schemes of funding, that extraordinary revenue which is wanted for war, we happily incroach less upon the *accumulated national capital*, than we should do, if we raised the whole revenue wanted by direct taxation. But, we still incroach upon it. In the first years of a war, the increase of the accumulated national capital, is only retarded and stopped short. Afterwards, that capital which has been already laid up, begins to be sensibly diminished.

The *fourth effect* of war in any country, naturally is, to withdraw a number of the necessary hands from the navigation of traffic, from manufactures, from agriculture. In consequence of this event, by which alone our armies and navy can be recruited with soldiers and sailors; a scarcity of hands is instantly felt; *the price of labour rises*; And even the poor are, for a time, apt to be persuaded, that war is not greatly injurious to the prosperity of their country.

The *fifth effect* of war in any country, usually is to occasion,—for a time at least, and in certain circumstances,—an extraordinary consumption, and by consequence, a scarcity and dearth of the prime necessities of life. This arises from the increase of the numbers and of the relative consumption of

the *unproductive labourers* in the community, and from the concomitant diminution of the number of the productive labourers. It has, for a time, the fallacious effect of exhibiting a shew of increased prosperity. But, this meteorous appearance quickly vanishes.

The *sixth effect* of war, is; while it at once enlarges the quantity of our home-consumption, and diminishes the quantity of that exportation for the use of foreigners, in return for which there can be lucrative imports received;—to occasion necessarily, an exportation and a consumption of *coin*, in consequence of which paper-money is multiplied in a larger proportion, than the actual demands of internal traffic require, and is of course, depreciated.

The *seventh effect of war* always is, to diminish the annual increase of population and of accumulated produce;—then entirely to put a stop to that increase;—then, to encroach actually upon the capital previously accumulated in the country, whether in population, money, or commodities.

Its *eighth effect*, is, to alter more or less the tone of thinking and manners among the nations at war; to check effeminate luxury; to rouse to habits of activity; to exalt the military profession in the eyes of the whole people; to strengthen the power of government; to suppress the wanton licentiousness

licentiousness of liberty ; to discourage the merely ornamental and frivolous arts.

Its *ninth effect*, is, to check, with the ornamental arts, also the improvement and the diffusion of useful knowledge. Whether among the poor or among the rich ; there is always necessarily much less application to school and university learning, much less reading, much less writing in time of war, than during peace. Mars was never accused of amours with the Muses or the Graces. There is always a larger proportion of soldiers illiterate, than of the servants of any other trade or profession.

Its *tenth effect*, is, ever to excite and maintain a contest, pretendedly upon public principles, but in truth, rather upon private principles alone of interest and ambition,—between all those, on the one side, who are gainers in emolument and power by the war,—and all those on the other, who lose by it, in income, in liberty, in security, power, and influence. This contention fluctuates in its progress ; and now the one party have the advantage, and now the other. But, whenever the effects of the war begin seriously to impair the accumulated national capital ; the party adverse to it, must then always of course prevail. It is impossible, that with any nation among whom the arts of peace have been cultivated with eminent success ; the first movers in any war that is not exceedingly short in

its duration, should continue to its end, to have the voice of the nation generally in their favour.

The *eleventh effect of war* proves often to be, internal revolution, humiliation inflicted upon the foe or suffered from him, an alteration in the relative strength of the neighbouring states who are combined in the system of policy, &c.

All these effects have resulted to Britain from the various wars in which its people have been engaged, since the æra of the Revolution. Its trade has been checked, has revived, has again been checked more fatally. The enervated luxury of peace has been usefully restrained, and braced to vigour. The energy of the executive government has from time to time been strengthened by that augmentation of the numbers of the servants of the crown, which war continually requires. The overstraining of the abilities of the government, and the difficulties it has found in its attempts to make any considerable incroachments upon the accumulated capital of the country, have, at the last, for the most part, closed every war by restoring the just balance between the influence of government, and the constitutional freedom of the people. It is impossible to deny, that, had Providence in mercy ordained all the other circumstances to have concurred, by which the advancement of our national wealth has been promoted, since the Revolution; and had nevertheless, turned far from us, during this

this period, all the horrors of war ; our general opulence might in that case, probably have been, ere now, at least twice as great as it is at present. Epidemical diseases among men, or among our cattle ; unfruitful seasons ; winters destroying almost all bestial life ; and the other general calamities which nature at times inflicts upon her children ; are but slight in comparison of those baneful mischiefs with which war ravages the earth. And these, with that waste of the materials of national opulence which furnishes no reproduction ; are the only other means beside war, which have operated with any mischievous efficiency upon the prosperity of our country, since the accession of William the Third.

The use of PAPER-MONEY, is another means by which the increase of our national wealth has been very materially affected, during all the course of the present century. At the æra of the Revolution, the quantity of the paper-money employed to aid the circulating coin, in the transactions of commerce, could not be more than equal to somewhat under twenty millions Sterling. It consisted in bills of exchange, in private bonds, promissory notes, and signed accompts, not one of which could be received or given away in payment, among more than a very few persons. The faith of governments, the intelligence and solvibility of mercantile houses, were as yet commodities too
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airy and uncertain in their nature, to be capable of adding to paper-money, any considerable, fixed and general value. From the æra of William's accession to the British thrones, we date the origin of our funded and increasing *National Debts*,—of our *Banking Companies* associated under the particular protection and restrictions of the legislature,—of our other *Trading Companies* possessing stocks so large, and these divided into shares so numerous, that a great part even of the whole nation, are capable of being concerned together in one single incorporated company of this character. But it is the paper-money, representing the funded national debts, the bankers' obligations, the stock of the trading companies,—that can alone come into competition with coin, as to its general utility in the business of traffic.

Concerning PAPER-MONEY in general, I have already, Sir, presumed to decide; that its use is ever eminently beneficial in a country in which it is employed only to accommodate the increasing demands of successful industry, manufacturing or commercial. Its first effect is, to stimulate and enliven that Industry whose demands it is introduced to supply.—An extraordinary abundance of money-paper and coinage, now flows through the channels of circulation. The prices of all commodities are for a moment enhanced in the market: The price of labour is, of course, proportionately enhanced

enhanced. But, happily, ere this rise of the price of labour and of its products can have the effect to compel those among whom it takes place, to demand higher prices for their exports; the new impulse which their industry has received by the adopted use of paper-money, augments and improves its products so much more; as to enable this people actually to lower their prices in the foreign market, notwithstanding the augmented abundance of their money at home.—Besides, if, in spite of this use of paper-money at home, such a nation still continue to receive the same influx as before, of the precious metals from abroad; they will now be able to carry their gold and silver to foreign markets, in greater plenty, and to offer them there upon better terms, than can any of their neighbours who still use nought but gold and silver for internal circulation.—Whether, then, as stimulating industry at home by new abundance, or as enabling us to outbid competition in foreign markets; *the use of paper-money*, when adopted only under a stable government, and to answer the demands of thriving manufactures and commerce, is ever beneficial.

There are, however, cases in which it may prove hurtful. If, from any causes, it be not easily enough convertible into coin or other commodities; if it cease by any means to be *faithfully* representative of those things which it *seemingly* represents;

if it be multiplied, not to accommodate labour becoming every day busier, and produce continually augmented,—but rather as the *shift* of declining poverty, and as the vain expedient of *projecting speculation*: Then will its appearance invariably be a symptom of decline and wretchedness; and its operation will prove fatally mischievous to national opulence, and to every means by which national opulence is either acquired or preserved.

So much for the benefits of paper-money in general, and in addition to what was before advanced upon this subject.—It can no longer be doubtful, that from its use, Great Britain has derived advantages the most eminently beneficial to the augmentation of its national wealth. But, is the same thing to be said, without variation and without exception, of all the different species of paper-money? Let us examine.

The *funded*, transferable stock of our *NATIONAL DEBT*, is to be considered as a remarkable species of paper-money. Its credit rests on the integrity of the legislature, on the stability of the constitution and government, on the apparent prosperity of private industry and commerce throughout the empire. Beside these, and the annual payment of about a twentieth part, as interest or annuity, *it requires no other capital*. As a circulating medium of value, it has not indeed an astonishingly extensive system of channels through which it can

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move; nor is it able to find its way throughout all the smaller, branching ducts and veins of internal traffic. But, within a certain sphere, it is easily accommodated to all the more important transactions of trade; And it has a thousand admirably beneficial uses which are peculiar to itself. A *banker* is fit only to become a *bankrupt*; unless he possess coin or commodities that may be almost instantaneously converted into coin; in an abundance fully adequate to the immediate payment of all the demands which can be made upon him. A national government, if its stability be only sure, if the country be prosperous, if its annuities be always ready at the proper terms; needs no *dead capital* to correspond to its debts. The contracting of national debt under the system of *funding*, if prudently managed, is, in truth, neither more nor less than a contrivance which *has absolutely the effect of almost annihilating the public expenditure*. Its only evils are, that it may occasionally encourage governments in an extravagant expence which cannot be reproductive; that it may occasionally multiply *paper money* in greater quantity than is necessary for the uses of commerce; that it may withdraw too great a proportion of the nation to desert useful industry, and to live upon the annuitant incomes which it creates; that it may embarrass and enfeeble the energies of that government upon which it depends. Annihilate but these evils; and

and in all other respects, you shall find *funded national debt* to be the most beneficent, financial contrivance that ever yet occurred to the genius of man.

BANKS create another species of *paper-money*. This also possesses various advantages. It is more easily transferable, and more readily convertible, than any other sort of paper-money, into coin and commodities of all kinds. In some instances, together with this more convenient utility, it possesses also the advantage of bringing in an annual interest to the holders. Its circulation is even easier than that of coin. It is the representative of a large proportion of its value understood to be actually possessed in *ready coin* by the bankers issuing it; of a smaller proportion of that value, understood to be possessed by the bankers in *lands or other goods*, and not in coin; of usually some proportion of value supposed to exist in the intelligence, the *discretion*, the integrity, the *good faith*, and the *good management* of the bankers. It is *less* valuable and *serviceable* than the paper-money of national debt; because the responsibility of any private man, or company of men, can never be equal to that of a government, a legislature, a constitution, a nation; because, too, it requires a private capital, set apart from all other purposes, to meet the demands for coin instead of bank-bills, which shall be made by the holders of the latter. It is *more useful*, on the other hand, than the *paper-money*

per-money of national debt, on account of its divisibility into minuter parts, and its more perfect resemblance to coin in all its different capacities.

The *paper-money* of the *stock of trading COMPANIES* nearly resembles that of *national debt* in all its uses; save, that the former is more liable to evanescence in its value, less easily transferable, less connected with general national prosperity, and sometimes more profitable in the annual interest it affords, than the latter.

Bills of simple exchange, are accommodated merely to obviate certain difficulties and losses which might attend the transference of large sums in coin, from one distant place to another. Every other sort of written deed representing faith, civil security, and value, is, in its nature, nearly similar to these, but only, less easily, and less extensively useful.

In all these different species of paper-money, there is nothing that can make any one of them intrinsically hurtful to commerce, or to the real increase of a nation's wealth. Adopted only to serve those uses to which the precious metals cannot, from their very nature, be so conveniently applied, or which they cannot, even amidst general prosperity, be procured to answer; paper-money is one of the best blessings which heaven has enabled man to create for himself. Founded upon the basis of a wise government and a civil constitution firmly established,

tablished,—of general integrity and a vigilant and upright distribution of justice,—of industry and ingenuity continually expanding, invigorating, and quickening their exertions ; it can hardly deserve to be accounted less intrinsically valuable than coin. Should we descend to investigate in minute detail, those effects which have resulted from every particular instance of the issuing and the use of paper-money in the British empire, since the æra of the Revolution ; we should find them to have been, all together, beyond calculation, beyond almost the utmost stretch of imagination, beneficent. I do not hesitate to assert, in the very face—of vain womanish terrour, of prejudice impassive to the force of argument, of faction that would flatter prejudice and enhance the swooning trepidation of terrour, of that mere cymbal-clamour which is the only martial music of this ragged army ;—in the face of this host, I do not hesitate to assert ; that OUR NATIONAL DEBT, *by its operation as paper-money*, HAS BEEN THE MOST POWERFUL ENGINE OF OUR NATIONAL PROSPERITY. Paper-money, in general, has operated to improve the energies of our commerce, precisely in the same manner, as the machinery abbreviating labour, has contributed to multiply the powers of our manufactures.

You are, perhaps, Sir, ere this time, weary of this so tedious enumeration of the causes which have the most eminently affected the augmentation

tion of our national wealth, since the æra of the Revolution. It was something upon our difficulties and distresses of the *present emergency*, that I requested you to read; and here you are detained upon a *boring* deduction of matters, amidst which there is nothing at all said concerning the *present emergency*.—For a moment longer, let me yet intreat your patience. We have but to ascend one other rising ground; and that gloomy landscape will meet our sight. We have but to turn another leaf; and then to try whether we can decypher the blotched, enigmatical pages of Mr Pitt's administration, during this disastrous war.

The stability of our government, and the wisdom of our legislature,—the general improvement of our knowledge,—our friendly intercourse with Foreign Nations,—our enthusiastic ardour in commercial pursuits,—our increasing luxury,—the wars in which we have been engaged,—the paper-money of which we have adopted the use; have been enumerated as the most remarkable causes affecting the progress of our national wealth, since the year 1688. To these there is still another to be added.

What is well begun, says the proverb, is half ended. *Vires acquirit eundo* may be asserted of ten thousand of the energies of nature. The more a plant has grown up; so much the more powerfully, *ceteris paribus*, will it continue to grow. The more

more men know; so much more apt do they usually become, to learn. The ratio of geometrical progression is well known. Now, there is in all these facts something remarkably similar to that which I would here mention, as the last great cause by which the progress of the national wealth of the inhabitants of Britain has been powerfully affected during the present century. This wealth has necessarily increased on almost every successive ten years, at least one-tenth part more rapidly, than it did on the ten years immediately preceding. Still as the population, the commercial capital, the knowledge of the whole island, become greater; they become consequently fitted to afford a larger increment than when they were themselves less. Perhaps the *surplus produce* of Britain in the year 1791 would be equal almost to its *whole produce* in the year 1691. This continual EXPANSION and INVIGORATION of all those powers by whose energy national wealth is generated, deserves obviously to be accounted one of the most important causes of the increase of the general wealth of nations.

Increased then by the operation of all these means save only war and the few natural calamities with which we have been afflicted; it seems probable that the wealth of Britain has since the era of the Revolution been augmented from 100 to 150.

The

The *land*, as to its surface, soil and minerals, may now be, 26

The *population* of Scotland, now 1,500,000, of England 8,000,000—together 9,500,000 about 24

Cultivated capacities of *labour* 23

Ingenuity and knowledge 30

Accumulated commodities 39

Circulating money, in coin, perhaps L. 25,000,—in 20

Paper-money of all sorts L. 500,000,000 20

To this, we add, in order to represent that peculiar species of wealth which the British nation possess in their connexions with Ireland, India, &c. the sum of 20

Total 170

So vast is the ratio of the increase of the national wealth of the British Empire, under the influence of the causes above enumerated, and during the course of that period which has elapsed since the Revolution which seated William the Third on the British Throne! The intricacy of detailed accompts, and minute calculations could not be admitted into this Paper. But, the ratio's will be found by the diligent investigator, to possess, at least as great accuracy as can be reasonably expected in matters of such a nature.

III. It was, then, in this state, Sir, of the National Wealth of Great Britain, that the PRESENT DISASTROUS WAR arose. Were it even crowned

with

with success ten thousand times more brilliant than was ever hoped by the most sanguine mind among those who urged this nation to engage in it; God forbid that I should not lament it as the most terrible of calamities! Its unpropitious influence upon our national wealth, in common with all former wars, I have already attempted to explain. But, who shall paint, who shall but recount a thousandth part of the ills which it has inflicted upon private life? Ah! Sir, how many families of infant children have been deserted by their parents driven from dire necessity to enlist? How many sons have been seduced or torn away from their parents' tenderness? What ills of want, of disease, of hearts agonized with fear, sorrow, and despair, have not the poor soldiers suffered? How often have they been rashly brave in the field, solely because life had become an insufferable burthen to them? The virtuous peasantry believe, and they believe rightly, that almost every young man who enlists in the army, goes not only to want, misery, and death,—but to the almost unavoidable, and utter corruption of his morals. Great God! how many souls have been hurried to everlasting perdition, by the effects of this very war! 'Twere little, that life were only hurried to a premature end! But, we look only at the exterior appearances of misery. We cannot enter with due sympathy into those innumerable

miserable secret woes of heart with which all the apparent ills of war are necessarily connected.

Alas! cruel, cruel experience has taught me that even the tenderest sympathy of the happy can be but mockery to the real agonies of the wretched. I had a dear, dear *brother*, thriving in a manufacturing business, which he carried on with a small capital, but with great enterprize, with the most respectable credit, with the fairest hopes. A large quantity of goods was unexpectedly left upon his hands at the commencement of the war: He was unable to *retire* his bills when they became due: He had recourse to the government loan in *exchequer-bills*: While his goods were a deposit, he could not advantageously produce them to sale: He became a bankrupt; and it was the exchequer-loan which consummated his ruin: His honest, proud heart could not brook the dishonour of bankruptcy: He sank, in a few months into the grave: His miserable widow and five infant-children are now hardly sustained by the scanty pittance which I can, with difficulty, supply to them.—But, Oh! my heart! This was not all. I had three dear, promising boys. I am now childless. My dear Frank was clerk to his uncle, and was within another year, to have been received into equal partnership with him. In evil hour, but without one grain of evil design, he enrolled his name with a Society of Friends to the People. He and some

other

others whose words and intentions informers had misrepresented,—were threatened with prosecution. My boy, than whose no British breast ever held a more loyal heart, was compelled to flee, as if he had been a villain, from the punishment of treason or sedition. He hastened to America. Hardly had he landed, when he fell a victim to the yellow fever.—His brother William had been bred to the sea, had risen to be first mate of the ship in which he sailed, expected against another voyage to be himself captain of a merchant-man in the West India trade. He was impressed. He served with unequalled gallantry. On board Admiral Paisley's ship, he perished on the *glorious* first of June!—My youngest son, my own namesake, my favourite, Ralph, I had bound apprentice to a writer. His master was well-pleased with his quick intelligence and assiduity. He became a *volunteer*. The arms, the dress, the exercise transported his youthful imagination. He became incapable of attending longer to the duties of the writing-chamber. I was forced to purchase him an ensigncy. He was soon ordered for the West Indies. He was wounded—not mortally. But, the yellow fever attacked him while he was recovering of his wound. It cut him off!—You shake your head. You say, this is a feigned tale of distress. Angels of mercy! Would that it were! Nay, if this could be to me, any consolation; I know that many fathers, many mothers have

have experienced sorrows, brought on them by the war which are infinitely more distressful than even mine!

And yet, Sir, notwithstanding all my private griefs,—amidst those miseries of others, in which, old and forlorn as I am, I cannot but take some share; I dare not, hastily, and without qualification, condemn THE VIEWS WITH WHICH THIS UNHAPPY WAR WAS UNDERTAKEN.

We are not yet arrived at a state of society in which WARS might cease. The human understanding is still too little enlightened; the human heart, too selfish and capricious. The same vices, the same imperfection of wisdom and knowledge, which occasion quarrels in private life, must still, from time to time, kindle up wars between contemning kingdoms and states. When nought shall interrupt the harmony of private life; then, and only then, may we hope that nought shall arise to make nation come in hostile array against nation.

These things being undeniably thus; it is not sufficient to object the general evils of war, against the authors of our present contention with France. The proper question to be asked, is; Did they act rationally, upon the received principles of policy? Did they act fairly, upon the common and natural feelings of governments and of nations, in commencing this war?

I am not, Sir, one of those who judge of measures *solely* by their good or ill success. *Intention* is from the heart of man; the *event* is directed by the inscrutable counsels of eternal providence.—No, Britons, by all the miseries which have been suffered, by all the crimes that have been perpetrated in the prosecution of the present war, by all the woes it is yet to entail upon the latest posterity;—*I swear*, there was neither guilt nor folly, more than what ever necessarily cleaves to the weakness and short-sightedness of humanity, in the views and intentions with which you drew the sword against France!

When the circumstances of that unhappy nation, convinced their old government, of the necessity of new-modelling its structure, so that it might afford a solid foundation to a financial system similar to that of Britain; we thought our Gallic neighbours just about to be happy; we joyfully hailed the dawn of their golden age. But, by the crimes and the wretched folly, solely of the philosophers and their disciples, who stirred up the French nation to ask a reform of their government; that glorious dawn was suddenly changed into a night of unutterable horrors. I say, the philosophers and their disciples, are alone blameable for all the mischiefs which have ensued. Here is my invincible reason for saying so. It was, by an eternal, immutable law of nature, incumbent upon

upon those who began the revolutionary struggle, from which they promised nought but good to all;—to take care, in the very first instance, that it might be impossible for aught but good, as unmix- ed with evil as human imperfection admits, to result from their enterprize. The prime guilt of a quarrel lies ever with the beginners of it. In its progress, all parties come to be in the wrong in their turn.—They ought to have foreseen the natural opposition of the interests, prejudices, and passions of the privileged orders: they might have foreseen, that an earthquake would arise, and that the good they sought, would perish in the shock. No reformer can ever have a right to sacrifice the innocent life of the meanest even of mankind, to the accomplishment of his projects of reform. Truth, truth communicated in such a way that nought but good can result from the communication, is the only weapon proper for him to employ.—Miserable theorists at the best! As a child who should incautiously play with fire-arms, and amidst powder-magazines; they set themselves to play in a similar manner, with the passions, with the prejudices, with the interests, with the powers of mankind. Behold the ruins in which they have overwhelmed themselves and all around them! They acted like the chemist;—but, O God! it was with the lives, the feelings, the faculties, the felicity of mankind they ventured thus!—like the chemist

chemist who should pride himself in attempting experiments, which he might easily foresee, would blow up his laboratory. Away! away with all those horrible apologies which have been offered for the French philosophers, the first authors of the Revolution,—by bad men,—by women fit only to be each the dame Leonarda to a troop of murderers! Away with them! The only questions necessary to be here solved, are these; Who were the first movers? Was it possible to foresee that civil discord might be pushed to bloodshed, if it were attempted to carry reformation too far? Ten thousand times has the principle been stamped with the authority of all that is venerable in human reason;—*That Reformers have no right to perpetrate one jot of evil, even although opposed by the errors and vice of others, in accomplishing their proposed Reforms.*

Those then were undeniably the authors of all the mischiefs which have since afflicted France and Europe. Who now will dare to affirm, that the ties of consanguinity; the fears, jealousies, and dependencies of political neighbourhood; that policy of national intercourse which had been for more than one hundred and fifty years acknowledged and observed among the nations of Europe; were not such as fully to justify the first interference of the monarchs of Germany, to restore the diminished honours of monarchy in France? If
foreign

foreign powers interposed not to save Charles the First of England from the block, and his children from exile; it was because, in the last century, the political ties which connect the different nations of Europe, had not yet been drawn so close as they now are; it was because all who were then unfriendly to rebellion, had so much to do at home, that they could take no part in favour of a monarch falling before rebellion abroad. Review the diplomatic history of Europe, particularly for the past part of the present century; you will find, that the European nations have, during this period, almost invariably claimed and exercised a right to advise, to check, to support, or to oppose one another reciprocally, upon almost every great occasion, whether in the transactions of internal government, or in their respective attempts to extend their dominion over new territories. This very right was acknowledged by the French reformers, when they received the congratulations of foreigners, when they endeavoured to conciliate the favour of Britain and other countries, to that reform which they were carrying on. Why then, complain that the received policy of national intercourse was violated by the march of the Duke of Brunswick?—But, the defence of the German potentates, is not my particular care.

At the time when Britain took part in the war which had been thus kindled up, it was surely no longer

longer possible to avoid it, without abandoning all care for the general welfare of Europe.

Having by the measures through which they prosecuted internal reform, first violated all the acknowledged principles of political justice; the French reformers had next, in their opposition to German invasion, proceeded with equal frenzy to break through all the barriers established by the law of nations. If even their conduct in the first instance, were such as to justify the interposition of foreign powers, in order to overawe their mischievous intentions; much more must that interposition appear to have been urgently demanded by what they did and menaced in the second instance.

That time at which the interference of Britain was at last made, was precisely the time when the French had the most notoriously divested themselves of regard for the reciprocal ties of political society in Europe. There was a general dread conceived of those desperate things, which a new-born republican energy might enable them to perform; a dread which was at least sufficiently general, and sufficiently reasonable as to the objects by which it was excited, to justify the old governments of Europe in adopting it as one principle among others, on which to found their measures.

The balance of power in Europe has ever since the administration of Cardinal Richlieu, been understood

derstood to be endangered whenever the French monarchy was enabled to make any, even small incroachments, upon the rights of its neighbours. Much more, was this danger magnified, when the French republicans over-ran all Flanders.

Even to prevent those mischiefs of war which menaced all Europe from one end to the other, it could not seem proper for Britain to adopt any other measure than that of actually taking up arms. With arms in our hands, we might prevent the Germans from disturbing the balance of power by pushing their ambitious successes too far, if they should prove in the end successful against France. With arms in our hands, we could hope to prevent the republican energy and enthusiasm of the French from renewing an empire like that of ancient Rome, upon the continent. I for my own part, should not like to see Britain ever remain absolutely neutral, while there is any grand war among the powers of the continent. When *neutrality* in time of war, shall become the favourite principle in our councils; Britain will then exhibit nought but the shade of departed greatness. Arm, not to fight, but to negotiate! Poh! Mr Pitt had, before, made us but too ridiculous by this sort of conduct!

To the eye of reason and true philosophy, both must appear equally ridiculous,—the *French*, who think it just to propagate democracy, by force of arms,

by dishonest intrigue, by false pretences held out to deceive the vulgar ;—and our Mr BURKE, who would, by eternal war, oppose the propagation of a false and absurd system of political opinions. To oppose reason, or even sophistry by force ! to enforce truth and reason by violence ! Nothing can be more absurd or unjust than both these measures. —But yet, I must confess myself of opinion, that the safety of our constitution required the hands of government to be strengthened, and the better part of the community to be more completely armed, embodied, and set on the watch against innovation, than they were immediately before we entered into the war with France. In this I can see another reason which might well have its influence with the British government, in disposing them to begin the war. They were no longer at liberty to chuse between remaining absolutely quiet, and entering into the contention. They were compelled to make their choice between two evils. It was assuredly the least to which they gave the preference.

I descend not into the arena on which Mr Fox armed with the quirks and the quiddities of parliamentary, ministerial, and diplomatic form ; on which, Erskine, wielding all the *babil* and *verbiage*, which can charm the ears of an English Jury,—and might equally charm the ears of good King Midas ; on which Lauderdale, more studious of quantity than of quality in the matter of his pamphlets and speeches ; have exhibited themselves as prize-

prize-fighters, for the amusement of a British mob; and have eagerly vied with each other in levelling harmless blows at the fancied Medusa-form of this war!—Let the children toss about their shuttle-cocks as long as they please! In God's name! what fair discussion can there be with men, who like a mill-horse, still pace one eternal round of inept sophistry? First they grasp at what they fancy *natural equity*, in defence of the views with which the French began this war: When you shew them, that this cloud will not serve them for a Juno; they then seize what they suppose the *Law of Nations*: When this equally baffles their grasp; they next catch at the *particular policy received in the great Commonwealth of Europe*: When this also refuses to be prest into their service; they revert once more to *general equity*: And thus ever pursue a set of mistaken forms, none of which they can overtake,—or of which the aspect of any one seen through the *spy-glass* of truth, is sufficient to startle them into convulsions. Either these men's mental faculties are too much deranged; or else they fancy ours too much deranged; to leave it possible, that we should ever agree upon any common principles, by the test of which, the dispute between us, might be decided.

I care not for the treaty of Pilnitz, for Chauvelin's patience, for the placability of Brissot. I seize the whole matter between us, at once: I grapple it by the very heart: I ask, whether it was

not

not in the genuine spirit of the policy which had for almost two hundred years prevailed in Europe, that Great Britain should engage herself in the war with France? Had she not thus engaged; things might possibly have turned better out than they have: Hardly could they, in any case, have turned out worse. But, not to have engaged in the war, would have been innovation, experiment, the rejection of precedent, the suppression of the dearest feelings of humanity, a confidence in singular opinion which ministers would not have found it easy to defend. In all events, I, in my soul, believe, that our ministers, and especially those two worthy confederates, Messrs Pitt and Dundas, not less happily associated together than were the Ambrosio Lamela and the Don Raphael of Signior Gil Blas; are to be acquitted of the guilt—or merit—of being the authors of the present war. They obeyed the general voice of that part of the nation whose voice has ever been wont to direct all the great measures of government.

At the commencement of the French revolution, it had the general wishes of the British nation in its favour. When the national assembly began to depart from the imitation of the model of our constitution; our approbation of their plans and measures became somewhat less general. When the nobility were stripped of their honours; when the church was bereft of its property; when the princes were forced

ed to escape into exile; when the freedom and safety of the monarch began to be violated; when the arm and the pike of the assassin began to become the favourite instruments of philosophical reform: The British nation, then, and not till then, began to be divided in two *nearly equal* parties; *one* adverse to a revolution so like to the ancient reign of the Anabaptists at Munster,—*the other* more than half-inclined to rival the revolutionary boldness of the *Jacobins*. When the German armies advanced toward Paris; the opposition of opinions, as of hopes and fears, became yet warmer; but the strength of the two parties remained still nearly the same. It was the degradation and the imprisonment of the monarch, with the open declaration of the republican views and purposes in all their wildness and extravagance, that at last fairly turned the scale, and impressed all the wiser, the more opulent, the more illustrious part of the British nation, with an abhorrence of the French reformers, which made them impatient to take up arms against France. The division of the remains of the Whig party, ensued. The angry contest between the friends of French reform and its enemies, made the former more indignantly hostile to it, the latter more impatient to imitate it in Britain, than they might otherwise have been. Our King as far as his wishes could be inferred from his known character, and from that sympathy with monarchs

narchs, which it was natural for him to entertain; the Nobility almost with one voice; nine tenths of the landed interest, among the Commons; those moneyed and mercantile men who expected to profit by loans and contracts; the Clergy and Lawyers almost unanimously; hardly thinking of right, or interest, or precedent; but with the strong impetuosity of national feeling and national passion; called loudly to arms. Ministers thought only of keeping their places. Accustomed to have no will of their own,—because in truth, they have very little understanding; Pitt and Dundas obeyed the general voice. The war was waged. They did well. *Whenever a government cannot without endangering its own existence, resist an impulse that is generally felt throughout a whole nation; it is its duty to obey that impulse. Of two parties into which a nation may be divided, it is always the business of the government to obey that whose sentiments are the most favourable to its own welfare.*

But, had the British nation means to carry on a war? We had. If our national wealth had been so prodigiously augmented since the æra of the Revolution, amid so many wars, of success so various; it was certainly not to be feared, that we should prove unable to support the expence of a few campaigns against the French, in which, one-half of Europe was to fight on our side, and even

the madness and extravagance of our foes, promised to be the surest engine of our success.

True it is, that the longer a people are engaged in the arts of peace ; so much the more unfit do they still become for the enterprizes, and the mortal strife of war. The savage, the wandering gipsy value life but little ; it has for them few joys, ornaments, or securities. But to the rich merchant, to the lordly landholder, to the mere voluptuary whose imagination and senses have not yet been sated, nor his powers of enjoyment worn out by debauchery,—death,—the very alarm, the hazard of death,—are, beyond the possibility of expression, terrible. Nay, in the early stages of society, the very misery of indolence, vacuity of mind, and want of employment, is alone sufficient to urge the savage or the barbarian, from time to time, into the fields of fight, with emotions of joy not less ardent than those which he feels amid the loudest, most intoxicated riot of the feast. But, in polished and civilized life, there is no such want of a diversity of employments directed to interesting ends, as might drive men in general, to rid themselves of the *tadium vitæ* by flying to scenes of battle and of carnage. The polished and civilized are not less brave than the barbarian ; but, they are more considerate ; life is more endeared to them ; they are not equally goaded by the efforts with which that potent spring,—the activity innate

in the human heart,—still struggles to burst from under the pressure of inaction and indolence, while these continually threaten to crush it,—and would crush it, if it were not indestructible and immortal. In Britain, the number of those who were earnestly disposed to a military life, was, *in proportion to the whole number of the people*, considerably smaller in the reign of James the Sixth, than it had been in the days of Edward the First and of Robert Bruce. If it were in the days of Charles the Second, as great as it was in the days of James the Sixth; we are to ascribe this to the civil wars which had laid waste the cultivation of agriculture and of the arts. In the reign of George the Second, the number of those who were passionately eager to become soldiers, was, in proportion to the general number of the whole nation, less considerable than it had been *when Anne commanded, and when Marlborough fought*. In our war with America, we experienced it to be smaller than during that war, which was terminated by the peace of 1763. Mr Burke errs, when he supposes it possible for us to become now, upon other motives than the sure prospect of utter extermination, as heartily martial as in the reigns of King William and Queen Anne. The longer any nation cultivate the arts of peace, so much the more averse from war, must they, by the very necessity of human nature, continually become. The more completely all Europe is civilized;

lized; so much the more impossible, must it still be for a nation of mere soldiers like the Tancient Romans to arise, and maintain themselves in the midst of it. ^{us} Britain can yet furnish soldiers for war; but it must still become less and less able to do so, unless civility shall be suddenly effaced from among us. Where there is no condition of life known, save that of farmers, living wholly upon articles of home-production and home-manufacture; the surplus population produced in every successive generation, cannot easily be disposed of, otherwise than by emigration, or by their going into the army to be *killed off*. Where labour is subdivided into innumerable trades and professions, and luxury is fostered, and commerce is eagerly pursued; a man has a thousand choices to take whether for amusement, or for earning his subsistence; and the life of a soldier is a last shift to which he can rarely be driven unless by the extremity of folly, guilt, or misfortune.

Besides, that part of a nation's wealth, that can be used for the consumption of war, is not augmented in proportion to the augmentation of the whole national capital. Whatever is laid out upon the establishments of luxury, of agriculture, of manufactures; whatever is derived from the peaceful prosecution of trade; all that consists merely in paper money; all that consists in the clearness and happy central connexion of the channels of commercial intercourse; is, by its nature,

nature, incapable of being turned to the uses of war. The system of *funding* might seem, at first, to threaten to render nations more restlessly warlike, by opening up a new and inexhaustible source for the supply of the expences of military enterprizes. Its actual and necessary operation has been far different. It subjected the military spirit of the British nation to a new controul of commerce, and of industry, by which it was necessary that wars should in the issue be rendered both less frequent, and far less wasteful and destructive in their effects, than they had anciently been. The *duration of a war is now almost completely subject to the controul of the mounted men*. They themselves are controuled as to their advances of money, by the state of public opinion, and by the quantity of the *unreproduced consumption* or unreturned exportation which the war occasions. The greater expence too at which war is now unavoidably carried on,--In the levying of soldiers, in clothing, feeding, and transporting them from place to place, in ammunition, artillery, fleets, and fortifications; tends powerfully, and on every successive year more and more powerfully, to shorten the duration, and to suppress the renewal of wars.—Formerly, the fabric of the wealth, industry, and commerce of Britain, was a mud-walled, turf-covered cottage, so low that it could not be easily injured; but so simple and mean, that we might view its ruin without a sigh, because we could

could, in a hour, rebuild it more spacious, strong, and commodious than it had been before. Now, it is an immense palace of glass, incomparably fair and beautiful; but subject to be destroyed even by the impulse of a pebble,—and, if once destroyed, impossible to be by any art restored.—Besides, the very erroneous ideas generally prevalent concerning the nature and effects of national debt, and of paper-money in general; however mistaken in their origin; operate upon public opinion with a *sure* and *real* efficacy, which renders the commercial wealth of the nation, much less easily, and in a much smaller quantity, applicable to the purposes of war, than it otherwise might be.

To these considerations, evincing, how limited the British government must have been, at the commencement of the present war, in their power of long supporting its expenditure, and of applying to that use, the actual wealth of the empire: We must add yet another, in respect to a concomitant cause—of efficacy eminently powerful. The opposition between the two parties,—those who urged the government to engage in the war,—and those who by every contrivance strove to withhold us from it; was so nearly equal, that nothing but speedy success could be expected to maintain to the former, the power of directing public opinion. The party adverse to the war, if of less ostensible consequence in the state, were, however, more active,

tive, more resolute to scorn all the ordinary restraints, more ready to push the accomplishment of their wishes, at the risk of all the dearest and most essential interests of the society to which they belonged. It was easily to be foreseen, that while this furious, rabid, desperate party were busy within the nation; misfortune would much sooner produce its usual effect of turning the general voice against the authors of the war. If for the safety of the British constitution, it had been necessary to arm the government with that extraordinary force which it demands only for the conduct of war: much more necessary was it, that this extraordinary force should be well husbanded; that even that waste of the means of war should be solicitously avoided, which might, in other circumstances, be incurred, without bringing in its train, ruin equally terrible, and equally sure. It was not difficult to foresee, from the manner in which public opinion was tempestured by contending storms; that the war, if unsuccessful on the part of Britain, would bring both from within and from without, such dangers to the British constitution, as had rarely before assailed it. This also was a consideration that might well make government tremble, while they drew the sword from its sheath, and bade the trumpet sound the first alarm. This limited their powers, and cramped their energies, more fatally than

than ever did an empty treasury, or the want of public credit.

Yet, notwithstanding this decline of the military spirit among the inhabitants of Britain; notwithstanding these qualities in the nature of our augmented wealth, rendering it not easily applicable to the purposes of warfare; in spite of that angry, uncertain temper in a part of the nation, which seemed to threaten ruin to the Constitution, as the inevitable consequence of a successful and disgraceful war: Still we wanted not money for the prosecution of all that warfare which appeared necessary—to restore the domestic tranquility of a distracted kingdom,—to support the authority of the acknowledged law of nations,—to preserve that balance of power in Europe, without which, all its states and kingdoms might be in danger of being swallowed up by the ambition of one,—to maintain that pre-eminence among the nations, to which Britain had happily attained, and which both our true interests, and a not ungenerous national pride must ever render Britons anxious not to lose,—to indulge those sentiments of humanity which taught us to pity, to succour, and with kindly outstretched arms, to strive to raise up—the prostrate fortunes of fallen greatness. Had that grand alliance into which we were invited, been, indeed, duly compacted into one body; had it been animated by some one great soul fitted, like a Marlborough,

borough,

borough, to give one undivided design and direction to all its movements ; had its different members been capable of rising to that elevation of political virtue from which their views, their hopes, their wishes should have been turned upon nought but the general good of Europe and of mankind ; had they been capable of due fortitude in occasional adversity, of becoming moderation in success : It would have been as impossible for them to fail of the accomplishment of whatever they could reasonably and justly desire in respect to France, as for weakness to crush strength, as for cowardice to triumph over valour, as for fatuity to overreach genius and wisdom. Long, long before the military fire, the wealth, or the loyalty of Britons could have been exhausted ; even a moderate exertion of military and political talents might be expected to accomplish all that was to be desired in the present war. Our national ability for war was not great ; but, it was fully adequate to all the exertions required of it. If the war, as I hope I have irrefragably proved, was not unjust nor unnecessary ; neither was the British nation in circumstances rendering it impossible for them to obey the dictates of reason and common policy,—and take up arms.

IV. The Epicure, when his palled and languid appetite is unable to relish the dainties that overload

load his table, is sometimes heard to exclaim with a vulgarity of language, befitting his understanding and his habits of life ;—*God sends meat ; but the Devil sends us cooks !*—Comparing the causes upon which we engaged in the present war, and the means which, as a nation, we possessed to ensure us success in it,—with the manner in which it has been, on our part and on the part of our allies, conducted ; we shall unhappily find ourselves provoked, with a thousand times juster reason, to utter, in agony of soul, an exclamation not unlike to that of the Epicure : *If God gives us national wealth, and national energies ; It is certainly no other than the Daemon of folly or of mischief, who sends us MINISTERS !* What a long, long list of follies, of errors, of crimes committed by the ministerial conductors of the present war against France ; will not a review of it call up before us, in horrible procession ; terrifying, provoking, afflicting, far more than the ghostly train exhibited to the wondering Gulliver, in the magic palace of the governor of Glubdubdrib ?—Have they not hurried us into a situation in which, like the luckless fowler to whom the suspending cord has broken on the highest precipice of St Kilda, we seem, as it were, to hang by the grasp of a slender twig, or of some faintly jutting point of a rock, over roaring billows and a craggy beach, ten thousand fathoms deep, beneath ?—

My first accusation against those Powers who were parties in the grand alliance, is, that, in an overweening confidence in their united strength, they conceived projects and views of ambition highly extravagant, imprudent, and unjust. To prevent one-half of the French nation from robbing, butchering, or banishing the other, under the pretence of reform; To vindicate the injured authority of those laws by which the public intercourse of the European nations had long been regulated; To guard and support that balance of power among its different states, which appeared indispensibly necessary to the general peace and prosperity of Europe: These were the only *just* and *reasonable* purposes with which this war could be undertaken or prosecuted. But, instead of being content to act upon these, no sooner had the allies taken up arms, than the conquest and dismemberment of France, the absolute destruction of all who had taken part with the French reformers, the restoration of absolute monarchy more despotic than before, in the spoiled kingdom; became the avowed objects to which all their measures of policy and warfare were haughtily directed. Forgetting those principles which could alone authorise them to take up arms, they quickly imitated that political guilt which they had vowed to chastise. Scorning every maxim of sober policy, they proposed to accomplish what all the examples of history proved

to be impossible without other means than they possessed. One can hardly say, which is to be wondered at the most—their guilt in proposing to alter the established balance of power in Europe, and to exalt the regal power of the European monarchies to despotism,—or their folly in fancying, that, with the means which they possessed, and in the circumstances in which they were situate, it might be possible for them to accomplish purposes so wicked? Hitherto right and justice had been on the side of the enemies of France. Henceforth, the French and the allies were guilty alike. The war has, from this time, been on both sides, nothing but murder, robbery, madness, folly, a wanton waste of human life, and of all that providence bestows to sustain and make it happy. To this guilt our ministers made us parties. How long shall it be, ere the vengeance of an injured people descend—*constitutionally*—upon the heads of those ministers of death and mischief?

2. The *second* charge which I feel myself compelled to bring against the Allies, and particularly against the ministers of the British government, is, that they began to quarrel among themselves for the division of the spoil, when they ought to have been fighting for it against the enemy. The measures which were taken, after the battle of Nerwinden and Dumourier's defection from the cause of his masters, are but too well remembered. Why did the English, the Austrian, and the Prussian ar-

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mies act with so little of wise concert, while they pretended to fight with united arms and counsels? Themisfortunes of the British arms before Dunkirk; the shameful mismanagement of those advantages which were put into our hands at Toulon; innumerable other incidents which happened ere Spain and Prussia had yet detached themselves from the combination; evince that the Allies were more afraid of one another than of the French; and in truth, served the cause of the French, in the most effectual manner, by thwarting each other's views, opposing one another's interests, refusing each to fight lest the others should reap the fruits of the victory, striving all to throw the burthen upon one another, and to engross each all the advantages. Of this childish policy, our British ministers often suffered Britain to be the dupe and the victim. By acting, as well as the other allies, in its spirit, they appear to have often upon the most critical occasions, confounded all counsel, and frustrated the success of the most promising undertakings. While Mr P—t looked, and spoke, and moved in the House of Commons,—as if he had been the destroying angel, *sent by heaven's command, to ride in the whirlwind, and direct the storm* of sacred vengeance against guilty France: He, on the contrary, in his actual intercourse with the Allies, carried himself no otherwise than might a dunghill-fly who should undertake to conduct an ill-associated

ated company of wasps, wild-bees, and gad-flies, to rob the hive of an industrious commonwealth of working bees.

3. The *third* crime against the nation, with which it is impossible, when one reviews the transactions of this war, not to charge those who were the ministerial directors of it on the part of Great Britain; consists in their having selected the commanders of the armies; not from a due consideration of military talents and experience; but in compliance with the influence--of Cabal,--and of the power of this or that candidate and his friends, in the House of Commons, or in the Royal Closet. By what other quality, save daring constitutional valour, did the British officers and soldiers distinguish themselves on the Continent? Is it not notorious, that the conduct of our British commanders was not approved by the most eminent and the most experienced officers in the Austrian and Prussian service? Pray, is there *any royal way* for acquiring skill and experience in military affairs? Why was Lord Chatham not removed from the admiralty, until after our trade had suffered so severely from an enemy who possessed scarcely any navy that deterred the name?

4. The *fourth* charge which, in the name of their country, I would urge against those ministers who have reduced Britain to her present humiliation, is; that, in the whole conduct of the war, they

they have betrayed a want of enlarged, comprehensive intelligence ; an incapacity of that Argus-eyed vigilance which the time and their duties required ; an inability to chuse the weakest sides on which to make an impression upon the foe, to seize the happiest seasons, to proportion the means to the end, to do justice by a due exertion of policy to the valour of our soldiers and sailors,—and then to preserve conquests when made, at the smallest possible expence, and yet with the most perfect security. Genius, wisdom, prudence that need fear no surprize, a magnanimous patriotism capable of sacrificing health, time, the care of fortune, every private enjoyment, even life itself, to concern and watchfulness for the public welfare ;—these qualities, these exertions, I at least should never have expected from a P— or a D——. Yet, a merchant rarely employs a clerk who is not a tolerable master of the ordinary practice of book-keeping ; a farmer wishes his servant to be a good ploughman, although he may not be skilled in all the improvements of modern agriculture ; and it might have been supposed, that the men who were in this crisis seated at the helm of the government, should not be altogether destitute of common ability, knowledge, and discretion. But, why were the West Indies to be in a manner conquered twice ? How many thousands of lives have been consumed amid preparations for West Indian expeditions, on the very
voyage

voyage thither, by the fatal rage of that pernicious climate? Whence comes it, that although our fleets are every where victorious, yet neither our trade nor our coasts are tolerably protected? How could Mr Pitt suffer himself to be imposed upon, and betrayed by that scoundrel *De Puisaye*, who had, before, betrayed every party he had been connected with? Why was the insurrection in *La Vendee* turned to so small account towards the destruction of the internal power of the regicide French? How came it, that, with all the advantages which a British ministry could not but possess, for the acquisition of the information necessary to direct the expedition to Quiberon; that expedition failed, because every thing was found in a situation absolutely contrary to what must have been necessary to give the enterprize success? Rises not the shade of Sombreuil, at times, among those fiends of remorse and terror which cannot but disturb thy dreams, O P—! whenever thou art not absolutely drenched in a sot's potion of port?—Ireland! Did not that speech, and those details which Mr Dundas had so boastingly promised, —Did they not prove that Government had taken *precisely* all means, *except the reasonable and proper ones*, to intercept a French fleet, and guard Ireland from invasion?

5. I would not willingly urge these men too far, on the side of naval and military enterprize. They may

may say, that they want the necessary knowledge ; that the winds, the tides ; that disease, the misconduct of subaltern commanders, accidents in regard to the supply of provisions, an imperfection of intelligence, that could not be foreseen, detected, or remedied ; have occasioned at least some small part of those mischiefs which we here ascribe to them. They may say so ; for, what will loquacious men like them, callous to all sense of shame, not dare to say ?—Yet, whatever they say, shall not save them from *impeachment*,—shall not save them from expiating, as far as blood worthless as theirs can expiate,—the death of those thousands of brave Britons whom their incapacity, negligence, and wickedness have hurried prematurely to the grave ! No ; they shall never escape ; unless Heaven in its anger, should permit them to disappoint our vengeance by first accomplishing the destruction of the BRITISH CONSTITUTION !—

—But, their misconduct in the management of the internal government, has been even more inexcusably wicked and absurd, than their exploits as ministers at war.

Those general associations of persons calling themselves FRIENDS TO THE PEOPLE, were, *at common law*, illegal, and even diametrically opposite to the very fundamental principles of the BRITISH CONSTITUTION ; which can permit no political assemblies

blies ; that are undefined and unacknowledged by the letter of the law ; and whose deliberations may have a tendency to thwart and overawe the proceedings of its Parliaments, or the legal administration of the executive Government. But, to oppose those associations, what did our Gotham-bred ministers ? Why, they set up counter-associations under the direction of a creature of the name of *Reeves*, and of a long *etcetera* of other nameless beings in Scotland and in England. Now, before all who truly understand the political law of Scotland and England ! before the British nation ! before the world !—I accuse these ministers of having, in this,—whether ignorantly or mischievously, it matters not,—committed an act of *heinous* TREASON against the British Constitution. What ! have we hanged some, banished others, imprisoned more, reduced multitudes to the condition of the Quaker's dog, for the sake of our Constitution ? And shall we suffer a P—t and a D——s to escape ?—Are we indeed the descendants of those who brought Empson and Dudley to the scaffold ? Who hanged a Cochran and a Hommil over Lawder-bridge ? Who cut a Rizzio in pieces, even in the presence-chamber of his royal mistress ?

6. I accuse these men of degrading the authority of the Crown, and the majesty of public justice in the eyes of the British nation, by bringing persons to trial for crimes, of the actual perpetration of which, they could produce no satisfactory evidence.

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In what light, pray, is it the intention of the British Constitution, that the sovereign, in all appeals to public justice, should still appear to the nation? Does it not endeavour to represent him, as the *living image of the laws* and the constitution, almost divinely sacred and inviolable in his person and character? *omnipotent* in his power; because he is supposed incapable of abusing or transgressing those laws of which he is the guardian, and in some sort the *idol-representative*; and because, while he observes them, all their authority, all the sovereignty of the state, necessarily accompanies his every act? Just, merciful, slow to punish; almost as that God, whose *benignity* is the fountain of all happiness, whose *rectitude* has fixed the limits between virtue and vice, between felicity and misery, whose unspeakable *compassion* still *delays* the punishment of the wicked, till they find it in the natural effects of their vices and crimes?—Yes, it is in this light, that the British Constitution plainly means to exhibit the British King to the respect and attachment of his subjects. But, you, P—and D——! have, for as much as in you lies, laboured to shew our gracious sovereign to us, in the light of a weak, impotent, suspicious, torture-loving, death-dealing tyrant; capable of descending to the practice of a thousand mean arts against his poor, erring subjects; and, O shame to greatness! compelled to descend to them in vain!—The spirit

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of the Constitution, the very idea of kingly dignity require, that the sovereign should be absolutely incapable of all artifice, falsehood, disguise ! To have recourse to these, must necessarily imply the want of that force, that wisdom, that benignity which are involved in any notions we can form of the character of majesty. But, you, ministers worthy to have graced the court of Phalaris !—by the spies you employed, by the false alarms you have excited, by the frivolous pretences on which you have instituted trials for treason and sedition, by the ridiculous discomfiture of all your prime undertakings in this way ;—have disgraced and degraded your sovereign in the eyes of his subjects, much more than he could have been disgraced and degraded by all the arts and all the rage of the avowed enemies to kingly power. With you for his ministers, he could not possibly have, till this day, retained the attachment of any part of the nation ; were it not that he is universally believed to be in his private life, *the very best man* within his dominions ; and did we not recollect, that the meanest, the most malignant, and the most stupid of *dæmons*, act as instruments even of the will of the all-perfect God ! You have, in the whole train of your conduct in regard to these suspicions, accusations, trials, and acquittals for treason and sedition,—actually been guilty of virtual treason, yourselves,—of that crime which is in the law of Scotland, denominated *leas-*

sing-making.

ing-making. But, it cannot surely be long, till an injured sovereign shall banish you from his presence and his councils; and shall vindicate himself in the eyes of the nation, by inflicting in full measure, the well-earned punishment of your crimes!

7. I accuse these wicked ministers of the same guilt and folly, in advising the *suspension* of the *Habeas Corpus*, in producing the *two famous acts*, in protecting that infamous *libel* against the British Constitution which was said to be the composition of their creature *Reeves*.—When they proposed the suspension of the *Habeas Corpus* act, they could give none of those reasons for the measure, upon which alone, it could be constitutionally adopted: Suspensions, and pretended fears, were all they had to plead: The event has shewn, that their suspicions were groundless; that their fears were but pretence: The measure being thus unnecessary, was in its advisers criminal.—As to the TWO ACTS; something was no doubt necessary to answer the end to which they were directed. But, nothing more unconstitutional, more ineffectual than they, could possibly have been adopted; nothing fitter to conjure up a silent storm, which may be unforeseen, till it shall burst upon us at once, terrible as the final dissolution of the world.—As to that caitiff's *Thoughts on Government*,—so far as it is innocently competent for me to say so, after the result of the crown-prosecution,—I assert, that the pamphlet
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must have been composed with intentions of treason against the Commons of England: The solemn, parliamentary trial of the author, if it had ended in his condemnation, would have added considerable new stability to the British Constitution; and would have been singularly serviceable amid the peculiar circumstances of the times. It is inconceivable, to what a degree, the detection of the treasonable doctrines in that work, and the subsequent tergiversation of ministers in regard to it; operated, to impress the nation unfavourably in regard to the conduct, principles, and views of administration!

8. IRELAND, in this period, has been an object of alarmed attention to every patriotic member of the British state. The political depression of the Irish Roman Catholics, made them impatient under the government of a British Cabinet and a British King. The Presbyterian dissenters of Ireland were infected with a spirit of republicanism more intemperate than even the wildest whiggism of their forefathers. Even of the Church of England Protestant interest of Ireland, a very considerable proportion were dissatisfied with that *Beresford* cabal which had long held the principal influence in their administration. The distant noise of the French Revolution had struck the ears of the oppressed in Ireland, with an impulse which made them ready to burst asunder their fetters, had

affected

affected the *politically wicked*, with an encouraging joy which threatened to drive them into other excesses. The national character of the whole Irish people, was such as could not but give occasion to us to fear from those various spirits, all unfriendly to Britain;—consequences the most alarming to our power in Ireland, the most dangerous to the whole system of our national strength.

In these circumstances, what did our British ministry? To shew the Irish nation, that they knew how to satisfy their wishes in a Lord Lieutenant, and to redress their grievances; they sent them Earl Fitzwilliam. Then to convince the Irish, that they meant only to embitter insult, and augment the weight of oppression, where redress had been expected; they recalled Earl Fitzwilliam, at the very moment when he had begun to make the Nation happy; and sent Earl Camden, the messenger of their folly, tyranny, and caprice. The natural consequences ensued. Earl Camden is said to be a nobleman of talents, and of an excellent private character. Yet, the main body of the Irish nation would not have him to rule over them. No longer expecting redress of their grievances, the great mass of the Irish commonalty have in many parts of the island, been ever since refractory to all government. The conspiracy of defenderism has been detected in vain; for it has not been disappointed and destroyed. The Irish have

have most probably, from the North of the island, entered into a traitorous correspondence with the French. A military force which might be sufficient to conquer new kingdoms for his majesty, is found necessary to keep his good Irish subjects, even but imperfectly faithful to his allegiance. We dread, every successive day, the news from Ireland, as if they were news from hell. In the North of Ireland, revolutionary insurrection is all but generally begun. The Irish are formidable to us, as enemies. That kingdom is in a condition in which Government know not well how to act concerning it. They dare not yield; they cannot maintain their sway.-----Such are the effects of the councils of P-t, D-----s, and B-r-sf-rd, in respect to the government of Ireland; so important, so considerable a portion of his majesty's dominions.—This also shall swell the catalogue of crimes for which they must render an account in the day of impeachment.

9. For INDIA, the President of the Board of Control may be considered to be the official minister. The *Marquis of Cornwallis*, by the prudence of his administration in India, lately exalted the authority, and confirmed the reputation of the British government. His success in the war against *Tippoo Saib*, added new glory to our arms, and new strength to our military establishment in that country. By the lucrative commerce, which we carry on with India; by the spoils we pillage from the
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Indian territories under our dominion; by the field which India affords; of rapidly enriching employment, to our youth who although superior to rustic labour, yet cannot be provided for, in the liberal professions at home;—by these and other advantages which we derive from our power and possessions in India; The wise and vigilant administration of this power and these possessions, is rendered a matter of infinite importance, among the other concerns of the general government of the British Empire. Why then have D-----s and his fellows been suffered to make India in some sort, the province, the proconsulate, the private estate of a few undeserving families? Why are the whole concerns of the East India Company, and the whole business of the interference of Government to controul and regulate those concerns, converted merely into an engine of undue parliamentary influence to support a D-----s and a P-----t in office; and into a source of wealth with which their minions and dependents are to be, unjustly, and alone of all the nation, enriched? Why is the constitutional controul of Government over the East India Company, exercised also for the purpose of ruining that Company in their commercial character, by making them contribute above their powers, to aid and countenance a weak and wicked ministry amid their financial embarrassments? Is it not notorious, that, the Company's government in India; in consequence

quence of the dérangement in the state of their own revenues; and of that additional weight which has been thrown upon their shoulders; are at this moment, reduced to shifts the most pitiful, distressing, and disgraceful, for the purpose of raising money by loan?—But, the army! the army of India! From time immemorial, that fine country has been oppressed by a government purely military. The Tartar, the Mongul, the Rajagut soldiers have for many centuries been accustomed to oppress commerce and labour;—and by turns to follow, to betray, and to assassinate their own commanders. Having in a merely mercantile character, made themselves sovereigns of a wide territory; our East India Company were soon compelled to form a vast military establishment, consisting in part of European, and in part of native Indian soldiers. A very small portion of common sense and reflection, might have been sufficient to convince the merchant Lords of British India, that the soldiers and officers of a military establishment so extensive, would not long submit with patience, to that excessive inferiority of rank and emoluments, by which they were depressed beneath the condition of the civil and commercial servants of the Company. It might have been easily foreseen, that the British officers of the Company's army, would not long patiently submit to those disadvantages as to military rank and the prospect of promotion, in which they were placed

in comparison with the military officers in the King's service? But, above all, was it not to be easily foreseen, that so great an army, so variously composed, and finding themselves necessary as well for the government, as for the external defence of the Company's dominions; would soon be encouraged to do what all former Indian armies had done; to reject all allegiance to their haughty masters; and to oppress for themselves alone, that country which they had hitherto oppressed for others? All these things might have been easily foreseen and in part provided against, by any person tolerably acquainted with the military history of the world, with the general history of India, with the grand principles in the character of human nature. For some time, the miseries and the discontents of the Company's forces in India, have been rapidly proceeding to give them full effect.—Now, what has the President of the Board of Controul, done, in this affair, during all this time? He has slighted remonstrance; quashed the attempts of others to provide timely remedies; applied partial measures to relieve the miseries complained of, which were more unsatisfactory than if nothing at all had been done,—because they cut off the hope of *full* gratification and redress; he has glossed over the matter with false pretences, before the British public; and has at last brought the greater part of the forces in the Company's military establishment, into a tem-

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per in which their faithful services cannot be more confidently depended upon, than if they were in a state of actual rebellion. They feel their wrongs; they feel their strength: they have before them the example of the soldiers of all the former military establishments of Hindoostan. Can it be supposed possible for the Company's government, now, to satisfy them otherwise than by making them their masters? D——s has been long since warned of this; particularly by the exertions of General Smith in the House of Commons, to procure satisfaction in due time, to the Indian army. But, his voice was still in respect to the matter; *Peace, peace! while there was no peace!* And now, in the very crisis of the fate of Britain, he has brought the Indian army into a humour in which it cannot be doubted, but at the first moment of our known weakness, they will hasten to revolt, and to ravish our boasted Indian possessions from us. *What care I for the house?* said the Irishman, *I am but a lodger!* Mr D——s's patriotism is sufficiently capable of making itself easy with a similar reflection!

10. For SCOTLAND also, this man may be regarded as, in some measure, the proper, official minister. A Scotchman himself, he might be expected to have some knowledge of the interests of his own country, and some respect to its welfare. How comes it, then, that he has laboured with such malicious assiduity, and so successfully, to sub-

vert its rising prosperity? Of all the great manu-
 factures of Scotland, the *Distillery* was the most
 closely connected with agriculture, and was, at one
 time, perhaps the most thriving. The *brewery*
 had been long before engrossed by great capita-
 lists in England, with whom the Scots durst not
 attempt competition. The *Distillery*, not being
 pre-occupied, might yet be attempted in Scotland.
 It was a manufacture most happily adapted to pro-
 mote the advancing improvement of the country.
 When there was abundance of grain, the *Distilleries*
 presented an excellent market to the farmer. En-
 couraged by the ready sale he found, and the high
 prices he received, the farmer returned to tillage
 and manuring and improvement of all sorts, with
 tenfold alacrity. It was much better to export
 our surplus grain in the form of a spiritous liquor,
 than in its natural state. In home-consumption,
 whisky exploded the use of brandy, gin, and vari-
 ous other foreign liquors. When there was a de-
 ficiency of grain, the legislature, could at any time
 suspend the operation of the *Distilleries* for a season.
 Nothing, in short, could be more admirably a-
 dapted to promote the agricultural prosperity of
Scotland. Administration saw this. They instant-
 ly set themselves to load the Scottish *Distilleries*
 with a taxation from time to time increased, till it
 now amounts nearly to an absolute prohibition.
 Our Agriculture has felt, will long feel the blow.

But,

But, the fiend-like malignity of D---s's mind has been gratified!

The Scottish laws against *sedition and treason*, had their origin in times when criminal justice was far less humane than at present. Many subsequent acts of the government and the legislature have confessed the government of those times to have been in various instances peculiarly oppressive. It was universally expected by the whole Scottish Nation, that whenever a new necessity should arise for carrying those *treason and sedition laws* into execution against criminals; they would be mitigated after the spirit of the *treason and sedition laws* of England. The orphan, widowed families of *Dornie*, of *Skirving*,—the parents of *Muir*, whose grey hairs descend in sorrow to the grave,—will tell you with sorrow-bursting hearts, whether or not this has been done!

The *Clergy* of *Scotland* are a most respectable body. Virtue, piety, learning, intelligence make them truly so. They desired an augmentation of their scanty stipends, upon a plan which would rather enrich than burthen the laity; and which would give the clergy that reasonable independence of any Administration, that appeared necessary to maintain their usefulness. D---s promised to support them in bringing their plan under the consideration of Parliament, and in procuring to it the sanction of the House of Commons. They prepared

pared it with great pains, and with high hopes. At the moment when his ostensible assistance became necessary, he deserted and betrayed them. "Yet, *augmentations* of their stipends have been since liberally given." Yes; they have been given in such a way, that they might have the effect of *bribes*, to make this insulted, injured body, the minions of his power, the trumpeters of his praise. Shame to the priesthood! They have in some instances had their effect too surely. I have heard prayers and sermons respecting this war, from the lips of Scottish clergymen, the ambassadors of the Prince of Peace; which I should have thought too inhuman, too horribly malignant and carnage-breathing, to be uttered even by an Otaheitean Chief immolating a human victim, to propitiate the favour of his gods upon some destined enterprise of rapine and massacre. Forgive them, blessed Jesus! they know not what they do!

In the distribution of *vacant offices*, parliamentary interest must be always allowed by the distributor, to have the most irresistible claims. Those of the minister's own immediate minions and connexions, come next. Those of his party in general, follow. But, amid all these, or even after they are all satisfied, something is still due to worth and talents, viewed apart from all selfish and party considerations.

Non

Non obtusa adeo gestamus pectora Poeni,
Nec tam averfus equos Tyriâ sol jungit ab urbe.

Was the answer of Lord Oxford, the Tory minister of Queen Anne, when he was solicited to spare Congreve, a Whig whom he found in office. Since the administration of Oxford and Bolingbroke, there has been no minister of the British government, so selfish, so destitute of magnanimity, so much a stranger to true prudence, as not often to postpone all other claims and interests to the reverence due to worth and talents.—Now, our present minister for Scotland, more vigorous-minded than his predecessors, has got quit of all foolish prejudices of that sort. No, there is not a single instance in the present administration, in which, in Scotland, *worth* has been preferred to *influence*. Nay, I will go farther. There is no instance in which *rubble-stone* has not been preferred to *marble*, a *rotten* post to a *sound* one, the *lead* of stupidity and wickedness to the *gold* of worth and genius, the *satyr* to *Hyperion*!—I am no admirer of the *E—sk—s*. Were I to believe what I am earnestly told; I should take them to be loquacious, volatile, selfish men; destitute of real talent, void of genuine taste or learning, incapable of scientific invention or discovery; and not gifted with that strong common sense which can alone fit us for the conduct of important affairs in the practice of life. But, I do not believe all this; indeed I rarely believe above half

of what is told me, in cases of this sort.—However these things may be : it is impossible for any person who respects a certain Juridical Faculty, not to lament their subjection to such a ministerial controul, as could oblige them to displace from the office of their *Dean*, a man whose respectability at the bar, made him not unworthy of it ; and to place in the Chair, instead of him, an *unfeather'd, two-legged thing* that is supposed to have just as clear and correct notions of law, of argument, of eloquence, as a blindman has of colours,—a person born deaf and dumb, of the sound of a trumpet,—the Siamese monarch mentioned by Locke, of ice,—or the first spouse of Harry the ninth, of modesty !

It is supposed, *not without good information, nor upon uncertain grounds* ; that SADDUN expects to accomplish the final and general ruin of Scotland, before he be driven out of office. I hope in God, he shall find himself disappointed. Recall him, Satan ! quickly, to succeed *Beelzebub*, as prime minister to thyself !

II. I accuse the men to whom the administration of the British government has, during the present war, been confided,—of having betrayed the interests of their King and Country,—by withdrawing their cares from the proper business of government, to the management of cabals of Parliamentary and Court influence. One should imagine, that,

that, even the meanest and most sordid of human spirits; if exalted to be the arbiter of the fate of nations; would be, even involuntarily, purified, strengthened, elevated, by a destiny thus glorious; to a degree of magnanimity, sufficient to make him scorn all selfish cares, spurn at all low intrigue, even retain sensibility to nought save the concerns of that public happiness of which the guardianship is intrusted into his hands! But, on the contrary, the chief business of the ministry of P—r and D—s; that which has had the greatest share of their actual personal thought and toil; that to which they have made the greatest sacrifices of all kinds; that for which they have prostituted every principle, and betrayed the dearest interests of the state; has been the care for adjusting parties of interest alone, such as might secure a majority in Parliament, and a favour in the royal closet which they wanted talents and public virtues to command. Having *wriggled* themselves into a situation concerning which all the world has never ceased to wonder *how the devil! they got there!* there is no humiliation they will not undergo, no crime they will not perpetrate, to maintain themselves even but ostensibly in it. What intrigue, what cabals, what eternal bickerings about place—place and emolument, have run through the whole tenor of their administration, is,—to the indelible shame of Britons, but too well known! Upon what stipulations,

lations for offices, marriages, emoluments, &c. &c. did they prevail with the Duke of Portland to ally his fair fame to their ignominy, and to make himself the tool of their misadministration? Upon what terms was Earl Fitzwilliam sent to Ireland? By what a perfidious breach of those terms was he recalled, as soon as he had begun to compose the discontents of the Irish nation, to make them one people among themselves, to attach them heartily to the general welfare of the British Empire?—But, my soul loathes to pursue the filthy insects through all their dirty work!

12. But, good heavens! How is it possible for them to avoid seeing their own unfitness for the duties of administration? More than four-fifths of all their public measures, since the commencement of the present war, have been imitated from the French *convention* and *councils*, or adopted from the suggestion of the *minority* by whom they are opposed in Parliament. Now, I should excuse them for not being themselves *always* in the right; I should honour them for occasionally having the manly good sense, to adopt an useful measure from the counsels of an adversary. But, to be *never* in the right; to be constantly under the necessity of following the advice of their opponents; to do this, without apology, and without shame: There is in this tenor of ministerial conduct, a weakness, an incapacity, a meanness of character, which, if Bri-

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tons retained yet aught of the generous pride of their forefathers,—they surely would not suffer to rule over them!

13. By what a system of bold falsehoods have they not laboured to delude and hoodwink the British public? *Are they not all a lie?* What scurrilous *newspapers* are there not retained in the pay of the Treasury? Is not every thing like science, literature, erudition, taste, genius, liberal enquiry, discountenanced, oppressed, disgraced? In order to stifle the cries of public opinion against them; do they not strive as much as possible to suppress the advancement and the diffusion of knowledge? Has not the opinion, the wretched false opinion been made popular among a certain class; that the poor ought to be denied the benefits of education, lest education make them impatient for political change? Have not the ministry laboured as much as possible, to make dullness the only engine of all their *alarms*, of all their *defences*, of all their *calumnies*, of all their *self-panegyrics*? It should seem, that, conscious of the infamy of their administration, they would gladly hide that infamy from future times, by accomplishing the total destruction of those *letters* by which alone, they can be *damned to everlasting ignominy*! Mr P--t's *paper-tax* was one of those contrivances of low cunning against the welfare of learning,—of which, only such an intellect as his can be capable.

What

What a ridiculous game, the scorn of the whole British nation, have P—t and D——s, assisted by Mr Wilberforce,—played in respect to the slave-trade? Is it possible that any British gentleman can be capable of such wretched mummery; such deceit by which there is no person deceived?

In regard to those *negotiations for peace*, which the earnest calls of the nation have repeatedly driven our ministers to attempt, during the progress of the present, unhappy war;—what shall we say?—Does not all Europe exclaim, that they were insincere? that they were intended merely to throw upon the French, the odium of prolonging a war, which Mr P—t did not wish to bring to an immediate termination? that they were meant to betray the British Parliament into new grants of money which might otherwise have been withheld? that, they were trains laid to re-excite the flagging rage of the original friends to the war?—Thank God! this mean disingenuous conduct is totally alien to the true spirit of our national character! It might do for a Jew-broker, for a swindling attorney, for a smuggling trader. But, certainly, it is altogether incompatible with the wisdom and honour of an approved minister of the government of the British empire.——

NOW, Sir; this conversion of a war originally just, into a war of robbery, massacre, and frenzy; this mismanagement of it in every department, and in every enterprize; this impotent abuse of the laws
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and the executive authority, in the internal government of the empire ; this notorious neglect of the duties of administration, for the cares of interested intrigue and cabal ; this universal incapacity, except for blustering harangue, for acts of low cunning, for servile plagiarism and imitation ; this labour to hoodwink public opinion, and to renew the ancient reign of ignorance and barbarism ; this mean hypocrisy and deceit ; *Have had their natural effects*,—In giving to our enemies, victory and triumph ; in wasting, merely to bring upon us disgrace, much more of our national wealth, than we could prudently lavish even to purchase glory ; in prodigiously augmenting within the empire, the numbers and the influence of those who are hostile to the British Constitution ; in detaching almost all Europe from our alliance ; in making our friendship, ruin to those foreign nations who yet continue faithful to it ; in presenting the most hideous prospects of public and private ruin to all the loyal subjects of our sovereign, and to all whom *interest* or *patriotism* still attach to the British Constitution !

Yet, as if all these evils had not been sufficient ; they have had their consummation in *one, greater than them all*, which leaves us no longer any choice between the instant expulsion of P--t and D——s from office,—and the immediate ruin of our constitution, the dethronement of our monarch, fraternization with the regicides of France. I

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shall state it under a separate head, and shall endeavour clearly to unfold its necessary effects.

V. Yes, Sir ; It is impossible that a commercial country such as ours, should be visited by any calamity more severe, than that which at this moment depresses us, in the SUDDEN FAILURE of the COIN and bullion necessary to be exchanged, in the circulation of traffic, for our paper-money and our commodities. This evil, which the whole nation feel, in all its magnitude, with inexpressible distress, alarm, and despair ; has been brought upon us by ministers whom those who were disposed to deny them every other merit, have often praised for unquestionable ability in the management of matters of finance. But, if they possess any financial talents ; then, to bring this ruin upon the public credit of their country, they must have been actuated by an unaccountable and most diabolical malignity. Should we acquit them of this malignity ; we must, then, lay the evil to the charge of their admirable rashness, ignorance, and stupidity. Perhaps, indeed, it is rather to be ascribed to Mr P--t's secret remorse for having betrayed and abandoned the cause of political reform ; and to his desire to atone for that apostacy, by reducing the country into a condition in which democracy *must* necessarily triumph over law and order, and the British Constitution *must* perish !

Applying

Applying to the case of the present war, that which was said above, concerning the natural effects of war in general; we shall easily discern in what manner, *this terrible evil* has been brought upon us.

The very first alarm of the war, suddenly disordering the general system of the movements of our commerce and industry; by *this agency even alone*; considerably diminished their produce, and weakened all their energies. Our *democrats* who insisted, that it must instantly ruin the country; and the créatures of ministry who asserted, that the distresses of trade did in no degree arise from the war; were alike mistaken, were equally absurd in their reasonings and in their clamours.

Soon after that first alarm and distress, the activity of trade seemed again to be renovated. We were told, that this renovation was, real national prosperity produced by the war. But, the truth is, that it was our own UNREPRODUCING WASTE of our formerly accumulated capital, which alone, or almost alone, gave the new encouragement by which our manufactures and commerce seemed to be revived. Our manufacturers, our farmers, our merchants in general,—were at this time, enriched, precisely in the same way in which the contractors and army commissaries were enriched,—out of the blood and bowels,—out of the accumulated capital of the British Nation. If our broad cloths,

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our linens, our cottons, our manufactures in iron and steel, were now demanded in great quantities on the Continent; The demands were either from our Allies, or from our Enemies. If from our Allies; then it was out of our subsidies and loans, they were to be paid. If, circuitously, from our Enemies; then, they were to occasion an equivalent waste on our part, in the continuance of the war, more than sufficient to counter-balance all the profit they afforded. In both cases, the expence was to be ultimately answered by contracting new national debt; in doing which we should at once diminish our capital, and burthen the industry of future generations. Such, so unreal, so deceitful, was, that apparent prosperity which attended two or three years of the present war!

The representations which the Chancellor of the Exchequer has made to the House of Commons, concerning the prosperity of our trade, during the present war, have been uniformly framed to mislead. To that which I have stated in the *last* paragraph, he has never once adverted. Even the exportation of our *subsidies* and *loans* to our *Allies*, has been still unfairly employed in his accompts, to swell the annual amount of the pretendedly lucrative exports of our traffic. Nor have I observed that either his adherents, or even the eagle-eyed examination of his opponents, have sufficiently detected and exposed the blunders which his inability

ability has, on this score, made, or the glozing lies which he appears to have studiously told.

If these *loans* and *subsidies* could have been, without diminution, drawn back into Britain, in payment for our manufactures and natural products; if *all that we have expended* from our accumulated capital, upon our *armies* and *navies*, had been compensated by a new *reproduction*; if the *paper-money* of our *new national debt*, had been only so much as was wanted for the uses of a thriving trade :----Then, indeed, there could have no evil ultimately resulted to us, from any of the immediate effects of the present war.

But, the truth of the case is far different.

Our *loans* and *subsidies* to our foreign Allies, have been remitted in coin and bullion; in commodities, and in bills of exchange. In consequence of this, they in part prevented the remittance of value which must otherwise have been, in one form or another, imported into this country; and they, partly, occasioned an exportation which was to yield no returns.---When those subsidies and loans were once received by our foreign Allies; it was but a part of them that could be repaid to us for British manufactures. Much was to be laid out for provisions, clothing, &c. which could be procured abroad. Only some capital articles were to be sought from the manufactories of Britain.---Since this was so, it is evident; that, of what
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In a similar manner, have we been impoverished by the *expenditure* of that *value* which has been laid out upon our fleets and armies. Soldiers and sailors, do not, like husbandmen and artisans, yield any reproduction in return for what they consume. They do not even afford an adequate supply to the population, which is wasted by their fall in battle or under disease.

It is, therefore, in these three ways,—of *loans and subsidies* never to return into Britain;—of an expenditure upon our own *fleets and armies* which could afford no compensating reproduction;—of the multiplication of *paper-money* till it became a nuisance to trade: That the present war hath effected all that waste of our national wealth which has actually been occasioned by it. Our ministers of finance had easy means in their hands, by which to estimate this waste as it took place; and to compare the

actual

actual waste with that which they could afford to lavish in all, without overloading and disordering the wheels of commerce, and without embarrassing the movements or crushing the springs of the machine of Government. With common talents, with an ordinary share of attention ; they might have made this calculation with a degree of accuracy and precision which political arithmetic will hardly in any other case admit of. It is equally certain, that with such a waste of our capital, as Britain could well afford, without being plunged into commercial distress ; all the just and rational objects of the present war, might have been, in one or two campaigns successfully accomplished. Now, it is by entirely overlooking this calculation, by directing the war to unreasonable objects, by mismanaging all the concerns of Government, during the progress of the war ; that *the British ministry have at last wasted more from our national capital than we can without general distress spare ; and that, this waste is now ruinously felt in the deficiency of our circulating coin, which of all the materials of our wealth, is the most easily susceptible of being drained off for ever.*

More particularly still. The Bank of England has been since its first institution, the grand reservoir, into which all the surplus coin and bullion of British Commerce, are continually poured ; and out of which, again all the demands of that commerce

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for coin and bullion, are to be, ordinarily supplied. The inferior Banking-Houses are so many smaller reservoirs, communicating with that principal one. The channels of foreign and of internal trade communicate with these reservoirs, fill them up, from time to time, with new supplies, and are, in turn, supplied out of them.—The supplies of of coin and bullion which British commerce receives, are derived from those foreign countries to which it exports a greater quantity of commodities than it receives from them in return. Their deficiency of commodities, is made up to us with money, or with bills of exchange which bring money.—To those countries again, from which Britain receives a greater quantity of commodities than it gives in return, money must be exported, to make up the balance.—In one way or another, even in the most flourishing periods of our industry and traffic, we have long found it eligible, and even highly advantageous, to export every year, nearly as considerable quantities of money as we import.—It has been already shewn, that the quantity of our coin is far from having been augmented in a due proportion to the augmentation of our other wealth.

Now, in consequence of these circumstances, the *Directors of the Bank of England*, and even our other intelligent Bankers in general; have it in their power to know, at all times, with perfect accuracy;—what quantity of the precious metals is wanted,

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to give circulation to our paper-money, and to answer the other purposes of our traffic. They *must* know what proportion of money, it is necessary for them to hold always in readiness, to answer the just demands of their traffic. The managers of the Bank of England *especially*,—know their capital;—know their debts;—know what proportion of the property of the Bank, they ought to have ever ready in their treasury, in order to meet even the most eager *run*;—know, that for them to neglect to keep the necessary sum in continual readiness; must necessarily be, to endanger the general ruin of the whole commerce of Britain. The long duration of the Bank, has bestowed upon its managers a wisdom of experience in respect to these things, than which there can be nothing more precise, certain, and correct. If they venture to convert into debts due to them, a portion of their capital, concerning which they know not but it may be instantly wanted in coin or bullion, in consequence of some sudden *run*; it is more than a common error which they thus commit. They endanger the interests of the whole Proprietors of the Bank-Stock, the welfare of the whole national commerce, the very safety of the Constitution and of the state, for as much as this is inseparably inter-woven with the prosperity of our trade. It is not error; it is not merely
indiscretion;

indiscretion ; it is the highest possible, political and commercial criminality in which they thus involve themselves.

But, at the present hour, this is the very state to which the Directors of the Bank of England have reduced—their selves, all the inferior bankers, all the merchants in the island.—While the waste of war continued to drain Britain of its floating wealth ; the precious metals were the first carried off. The Bank of England ; by advancing money chiefly upon debts due under various names from Government, and not at all by accommodating private traders ; gradually drained itself of cash ; till it began to fear, that the funds in its treasury, would prove inadequate to answer the demands of any sudden run upon it. But, the Emperor's wants called for new supplies. New loans were sanctioned by the British Parliament. Our ministers pressed the Directors of the Bank to make again their usual advances. The Directors hesitated and remonstrated. Mr Pitt pressed with urgency, and used every means of influencing them, which he had it in his power to employ. They betrayed their trust, and yielded to his instances. He knew how these things stood : He might have foreseen the consequences. Yet, in this state of affairs, he trifled with the French, in respect to a negotiation for peace ; and did not consider, that it was of infinitely more importance to preserve
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the credit of the Bank of England, than to retain the Cape of Good Hope, and our conquests in the East. The French, as appears from some papers published in defence of Lacroix, were aware of the tottering condition of the Bank of England. They saw, that our last subscription-loan would not avail to save it. They dismissed Lord Malmesbury. They threatened us with an invasion. A general alarm arose: That *run* upon the Banks which was to be expected, took place. An order from the Privy Council; in issuing which, I almost doubt whether the Privy Council did not exceed their legal powers; saved the Bank of England from bankruptcy, by directing them, under the necessity of the times, to set their creditors at defiance.

Now, our Ministers were surely guilty of an high crime against the state, in granting subsidies and loans, which, they could not but foresee, would reduce the Bank of England to this pitch of distress.

The Directors of the Bank betrayed their trust, by yielding to ministerial influence.

This is the train of measures by which we have led into our present pecuniary distress. Let us see, what have been its effects!

1. No sooner was it known in London, in Edinburgh, and throughout the island, that the *BANK OF ENGLAND* had *stopped payment* in coin; and had done so, in consequence of an order from the Privy Council; than universal ALARM and TERROUR instantly pervaded

vaded the whole nation, such as scarcely any other calamity could have excited. Men were so much the more confounded and alarmed; because they knew not what to fear. "The French had landed or were landing: The country and the government were impoverished to utter ruin: It was a trick of ministerial swindling, more nefarious than when the ministers of Charles the Second shut up the Exchequer: It was something too horrible for suspicion, too big with mischief to be uttered, too afflictive to be thought of without driving the minds of moneyed and commercial men absolutely to frenzy." These were some of the few broken expressions which were muttered concerning it. But, it was that kind of calamity which strikes too deep to be loudly lamented. Went one out among the merchants and moneyed men? What faces of gloom and despondency? What a querulous tone of voice, more plaintive than that of a criminal concluding his last speech upon the gallows? What shakings of the head? What downcast eyes? *Sbylock* looked not more rueful, when warned, that he must not take one drop of blood, with Anthonio's flesh; when refused even the bare sum of his bond; when told, that his whole fortunes were a forfeit to the state! Did you look into any of the places of public amusement? All was desolate, silent, solitary, as the fallen temples of Palmyra, as the scene of the Lamentations of Jeremiah?

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Named you P-t and D——s? you saw every one suddenly shudder, shrink, and sicken, like some dæmon adjured by the holy name of Mahomet, or by the seal of Solomon. Talked you of the French and of invasion? Every countenance seemed to say; why, let them come! let them lay waste our isle! We cannot be worse than we already are! Above all, the alarm was the greatest, among those who could the least distinctly understand its nature. But, although in ordinary public calamities which reach not directly, forcibly, gripingly, to the bottom of the purse, people are frequently slow of conception, and are easily to be imposed upon by misrepresentation; in this instance, you could not meet with a single person who did not look upon this as the most terrible of ills; you could not find one whom even the eloquence with which Satan deluded Eve, would have persuaded to look upon it lightly. An earthquake that should have torn up our isle from its foundations, would have appeared less terrible. It was particularly interesting, or rather distressful, to meet with those who had paid money into the Banks,—but the day before. They looked precisely as you may suppose the man, in the story, to have looked, when he discovered that his ass had been stolen from him, while he still continued to lead the halter!

2. The *next* thing which followed, was a *general* STOPPAGE of almost *all* PAYMENTS. In a great commercial

commercial country like Britain, the mischief is immense, that even a single day's derangement of all mercantile business throughout the whole land, must necessarily produce. From the moment, the Bank of England ceased to pay in coin, no other person or company would. Those who were unable, or dishonestly unwilling to make good their payments; had an unanswerable excuse in the conduct of the Banks. No person who possessed coin or bullion, would part with it; since, parting with this, he could not hope to have its loss supplied by aught but paper-money of very doubtful credit. Indeed, it is impossible that P--t and D---s, with all their *crab-like* ingenuity at mischief; could have ever contrived any means more effectual, than the above-mentioned order of the Privy-Council; to make all the circulating coin that was still in the country, and out of the Banks, disappear entirely from the channels of circulation. Pray, look at the list of Bankrupts in the Gazette! You will there see, in what manner the orderly course of payments, and the general state of mercantile credit, have been affected by the sudden mischief! Yet, that list can give no adequate idea of the distresses of those numbers of honest and deserving merchants; who are as yet struggling in the very jaws of Bankruptcy, and are, with more than the agonies of a person drowning,—striving,—alas! vainly striving, to make their escape.—How many knav-

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ish? how very many unfortunate bankruptcies must this crisis produce? What a harvest does it afford to the usurer, to the extortioner, who flay off the very skin of the naked wretch, while they pretend to supply him with a tattered shirt? Wretches who pillage the shipwrecked! and with their clubs, beat out the brains of those whom the less merciless billows had cast still half-alive, upon the beach!

3. From this cessation of the ordinary *retail* sales and purchases, ensues of course, a CESSATION OF ORDERS to the MANUFACTURER, and of large PURCHASES from the importing MERCHANT. Go to Manchester, to Leeds, to Norwich! enquire of the merchants of Glasgow, of the manufacturers of Paisley? You will be informed, that they have not now above a tenth part of the *orders* to execute, which they had in former years. They will tell you, particularly, that, since the Bank of England *stopped* payment in gold and silver; a great number of *orders* have been countermanded; and their *travelling clerks* have returned from the country with less cash, and with fewer demands, than was ever before known. Is it surprising, that these men who see themselves thus ruined, should be tempted in the bitterness of their heart, to *curse their King and the Government* of their country? and to call upon *Reeves*, and *Pitt*, and *Dundas*, to accuse them, in pity, of high treason; and deliver them, even to the

the executioner; that they may be by him delivered from their miseries?—Who so merry? Who so happy? Who so thriving, as were our farmers, last year? *Many letters* from persons the best informed, the most deeply interested in the success of farming, and from all parts of the island, have, since the Bank *stopped payment*, informed me; that there is no market, no price to be had, that can be accepted, for either corn or cattle. Many new leases were taken last year, at most exorbitant rates of rent. Ere Christmas next, how many of the farmers who have taken such leases, must become bankrupts? In God's name! how are the Whitsunday rents to be paid? The farmers who have been successful, must disgorge their gains of these last two years. In the end, the landholders will suffer—suffer dearly, and long! Alas! my heart bleeds when I think upon the nascent prosperity of some remote parts of Britain,—now for ever blasted! The general success of our manufactures, had sent our manufacturing capitalists, to look for cheap labour and provisions, and for streams of water fit to move mill-machinery,—into various parts which could have no hope but this, of speedy improvement. They had made establishments which began to flourish! These efforts of strangers began to be imitated by the natives of the country. The most sanguine hopes were conceived. All is ruined; all is reversed. The good people will henceforth dread
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the idea of improvements of manufacture; even as their grandfathers used to dread the devil, the witches he inspired, and the ghosts he sent abroad in hideous forms to terrify and annoy them.

4. The *next* consequence, was, the CESSATION of almost all SALES and PURCHASES in retail, even of the necessaries of life. One had nought but coin, which he would not part with: One had no money of any sort: Others were unable even to pay the small debts demanded from them. Those especially who lived from hand to mouth; who had nothing but what they earned from day to day; whose poverty made it impossible for them to have credit; could not now obtain money; and saw themselves reduced to starve. Even if you had paper-money, shopkeepers would rather want your *custom* than give you *change* in silver.—It is impossible to describe the general distress of the shopkeepers. Where forty or fifty pounds worth of goods had been retailed in a day; the daily sale has been reduced to two or three pounds. In the mean time, the bills are to be paid to the whole-sale merchants: The goods remain in the warehouse: And, good God! what shall the poor men do?—The shopkeepers have been repeatedly troublesome to Mr P-t during his administration: But, the weight of his vengeance now descends full upon their heads. It is not only the shopkeeper: but, the manufacturer, the farmer,

farmer, all who have small money to receive, and to distribute, are plunged into the same distress, and rendered unable to carry on their business.—

Mr P-t may now indeed deem himself a greater man than Solomon : For Solomon only made *silver* to be in Jerusalem as *stones*, and *gold* as *brass* : But Mr P-t has contrived to make gold rare and precious among us, as the philosopher's *stone* ; and *silver*, even as the *diamonds* of Golconda.

5. The *next* evil is yet more terrible and destructive than any of these. By all national calamities, the POOR and the LABOURING CLASS still *suffer* the *first* and the *most severely*. They have still the fewest resources provided against the day of trouble. Is there a season of dearth ? How many of them must perish, before their wages can be raised to meet it ? Does an epidemical disease ravage the land ? Wanting remedies and all the means of alleviation, tentimes as many of them as of the rich die by its malignity. Arises war, to make man violate his Maker's image, in his fellow ? The peasant and the artisan are seduced, entrapped, dragged by force into the army, to meet death in the *imminent deadly breach*, and from the cannon's mouth. Does the farmer suffer ? Provisions become *dear* ; and the labourer is ill-paid. Does the manufacturer or the merchant meet losses and disappointments ? The price of labour falls till it is unequal to subsist the labourer ; and artisans are dismissed by thousands from the

the manufactures, to be idle and to starve.—But, the helpless poor, are in such times, infinitely worse off. That bread which is wrung from charity, is at all times scanty, and is eaten in bitterness of heart: But, in a season of general want, the sources of charity are wholly dried up. The beggar has then nought else to do, but to hide his head in his hovel, or to throw himself on the bare earth, and die!—Nay, in the speculations of the æconomical philosophers of the present age, it has become fashionable to maintain, that the *poor* had better be left without provision, than be provided for. A bad man, a wretched speculator in philosophy, has just published two or three quarto volumes, to demonstrate this pretended great truth. He has at least proved, that *hard-heartedness* to the *poor*, is the prevalent temper of the day.—But, if the poor be thus generally wretched; if it be ever on the meanest, that, public calamities fall the heaviest; if the rich and the self-conceited wife, contend with one another even in ordinary times, who shall the most effectually steel his heart against compassion for the indigent and the helpless: What, then, must be the misery of the poor? how many must be suddenly reduced to a state of starving poverty, amid this sudden distress which threatens to bring even the affluent to have hardly a morsel of bread? The manufacturers discharge, in great numbers, the men, women, and children, whom they have employed.

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The master-artisans, in general, are obliged to dismiss the greater part of their journeymen. The printer of these papers, informs me, that, he cannot at this moment, employ more than a small part of the hands who had formerly work in his house: that even those he does employ, have but a small portion of work for each, in the course of every week. The farmers too, can no longer hire their servants for wages so considerable as were before given. Throughout the island, at least a third part of all who depend for sustenance upon their daily labour, are suddenly left idle and destitute. What shall their wives? what shall their sick? what shall their starving infants do? O God! I have this moment been told of,—nay I have seen with my own eyes, such scenes of distress, as sickened and quite overcome the heart, more than could those sights of massacre and carnage, which Mr Bruce so feelingly relates himself to have witnessed with more than the agonies of death, among the Abyssinians at Gondar! How many families of four, five, or six persons, have, within this last fortnight, been suddenly deprived of their ten, seven, or five shillings a week, which at the best could hardly supply them with more than bread and water twice a day? Good God! could they but see the ruin they have occasioned; I do not suppose even the hearts of D——s and of P——t could withstand the impression, unmoved! Are there

there any ministerial? are there any national interests, to be brought into competition with mischiefs such as these? What is it we do? We seduce the industrious poor to become the servants of manufacture: we encourage them to taste those enjoyments which their labour affords, and which are requisite to support them under their toil: we entice them to marry and beget families: we ask them to send their children to toil, before they can have been taught to know good from evil: And then we leave it in the power of a diabolical politician,----to turn fathers, mothers, children, young and old at once to wretchedness, to beggary, to crimes! And dare we to exclaim against the profligacy of the poor belonging to manufacturing towns? And do we consign them to the jail, to the whipping-post, to Bridewell, to the hulks, to exile, to the gibbet, without mercy and without remorse? Ye fainted shades of Las Casas! of Benezet! of Howard! Are ye yet sensible to these miseries of those to whom you were angels of mercy? And does not the knowledge of their wrongs, serve to blast your felicity, even before the throne of God?----Perhaps that insulting charity, which is proclaimed in newspapers; which is paid with the proud ostentation of liberality; which is distributed by committees, rather as the hush-money of the guilty great, than with any sincere disposition of heart, to relieve the wants of the distressed;

tressed ; perhaps, I say, this sort of charity is more
 cruelly unkind than the refusal of those who give
 nothing. But, be this as it may ; charity, however
 lavish, however humane, can never make any com-
 pensation to the honest labourer for the want of
 that employment which placed him above all re-
 lief from pity.—It is here, particularly worthy of
 remark, that *the poor man alone, when he hears the*
poor moan, from his morsel, a morsel will give ! I
 have sometimes had the curiosity to watch, on a
 Saturday afternoon, the fortune of one or another
 of our street-beggars. I have ever observed, that for
 one halfpenny which the poor man or woman re-
 ceived from a passenger in the dress of a gentle-
 man or a lady ; three or four would be bestowed
 by persons in the dress of labourers. What the
 gentleman or the lady gave, was bestowed with
 cold indifference or ill-nature ; as who should say,
—I give thee, merely to get quit of thy importunity.
 That which the labourer gave, was given with a
 look of sorrow, with a tear of pity, with words of
 kind condolence ; it seemed to say ; *Alas ! I my-*
self, or those who are dearest to me, may soon be as
thou now art !—But, of this surest source of relief,
 the helpless beggar is now entirely deprived ; he
 sees his benefactor reduced to the same misery with
 himself. This ! this ! this ! P—t and D—s ! is
 your doing !—Even when the poor are not actually
 starved to death, by a total want of nourishment ;

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yet,

yet; they often die by inches,—having not above a tenth part of the necessary food, raiment, and fuel!

6. By this same *stoppage of payment* in coin by the Banks, the gigantic Gorgon of DEMOCRACY has been encouraged once more to rear aloft her head. Within *these last three weeks*, the partizans of democracy have begun to break through that fullen silence which they had for some time maintained, in respect to their most extravagant projects of reform. Their voice is again loud in the streets, in the coffeehouses, in every public assembly. They maliciously insult the public distress with looks, with words, with the laugh, with the song—of triumph. They mark out with the *tyger*-eye of cunning and malignant blood-thirstiness, those whom the pike, the butcher's cleaver, the lamp-post, are to sacrifice to their demoniac rage. Fox, Sheridan, Grey, even Horne-Tooke and Thelwall, are no more the favourite objects of their attachment. No: P---t! P—t and D—s! are now the names which alone, they revere, above all others. By their gods! they swear; by the Dæmon of Atheism which has presided over the French revolution! By all the phantoms which *prompt to deeds accurs'd, the mind!* by all that ravening brood of fate, who lap the blood of sorrow! that P—t never was, in his soul, a foe to their counsels! They grieve to have done him wrong. They are convinced, that his seeming opposition to
their

their attempts, his hostility to the democracy of France, the ridiculous trials he excited, the alarms he spread, the lips-locking *acts* he procured;---were but intended to co-operate with the general tenor of his mal-administration; for the purpose of more effectually securing the overthrow of the British Constitution ! “ Mark, say they to one another, how his duplicity has distinguished itself in the trial of Hastings ! in the business of the slave-trade ! Here, too, he has exercised with equal dexterity and skill, a hypocrisy, much more pious ! He has not deserted those principles with which he began the career of his political life ! He but hid them in his dark bosom, to give them the surer efficacy.” — Even the *manes* of *Watt*, are now with less passionate devotion adored, than *SADDUN* who betrayed, and brought him to the scaffold.—Some, indeed, more sagacious than the rest, insist that it is not the democratical purposes, but the blockhead-stolidity of D——s and P—t, which has wrought such wonders in favour of democracy ! But, the conclusion is ; “ that it is a moot point ; It matters not, which.” *Atheists*,—they have been long accustomed to venerate *blind, undesigned chance* ! as the sovereign arbiters of all human affairs ! The more, therefore, Messrs D—— and P—— resemble *her* ; so much the more worthy are they of democratical attachment and adoration ! Now, these *democrats* have, throughout the whole island, renewed,

renewed, *with powerful effect*, their efforts, their exultation, their menaces. In the present desponding, unhinged state of men's minds; they are heard with fear, with admiration, with the strongest inclination to be convinced. Some hundred thousands of converts have been made by them, since the *stoppage of payment* by the Banks. Our national misfortunes, the private calamities which every one feels, give to the clamours and the lies of the *democrats*, the force of demonstrated truth, the weight of inspiration from heaven. They wait—but for two or three more great misfortunes of our arms,—but for a somewhat deeper despondency of the moneyed interest,—but till the general fever of which they have diffused the contagion, shall have risen in every brain to delirium; and then will they rise in arms, and make our whole Isle, like the very threshold of the cell of the Furies! The general arming of the whole nation to resist invasion, which has been newly proposed; has given to the votaries of democracy, the most sanguine hopes; that the arms thus offered by the minions of government, will not be laid down, till the government itself shall be destroyed. Even the partial retrocession of ministers from the full use of this measure, has not quite annihilated the *democrats'* hopes. They think they see, that the war has been pushed to that crisis, at which war is ever subversive of the government by which it is so desperately waged. With a bleeding heart, I declare,

declare, that I believe the *democrats* do not err :
They never were so strong : They never were so
near to the accomplishing of our ruin !

7. What effects, think you, must this sudden
stoppage of payment by our Banks, produce upon
our whole intercourse with foreigners ? Effects the
most ruinous, the most disgraceful. Tell us that the
rate of exchange with Hamburgh, is even now in
favour of England ! The thing is impossible. It may
be for a moment, apparently in our favour, in conse-
quence of some artifice of the money-brokers, which
I cannot at this moment detect. That it should
be really and permanently so, in the present state
of our commercial and national credit,—it would
be absurd even to suppose. Our manufactures,
our commerce, ruined as they are ; pray what have
we, to bring us in money from abroad ? What is
there now, to hinder the neutral nations from ac-
quiring the advantage over us, in every foreign
market ? Our great capitals, which alone maintain-
ed to us, the superiority during the former course
of the war, Mr P—t has contrived to annihilate with
all due speed. It is obvious, that in the present state
of our public credit, foreigners must be disposed to
sell out of our *funds* as fast as possible. Will not this
alone produce an exportation of money, sufficient to
turn the course of exchange terribly against us ?
Remittances to our German Ally, are still to be
made. How must these affect the course of ex-
change ?

change? *Money* is to be sent abroad for the payment of our own fleets and armies. How must this affect the course of exchange? It matters not, that we send bullion and foreign coins,—not lawful British money. The bullion and foreign coins thus sent abroad, must be subtracted from uses, in which they were wanted to aid the operation of lawful British money.

Our Allies, whom our bounty alone enables to pursue the war; plunged as they are in the deepest distress, have nought but despair as to future support; since Britain appears to be nearly incapable of granting them farther supplies. After the disasters of the Imperial arms in Italy, of which we receive, every day, news more and more afflictive; what can the Emperor do, but throw himself at the feet of the French Directory, and eagerly accept the most humiliating terms which they shall condescend to impose? From us, he can have no farther hope. We have made him take the high-road to hell, and have supplied the *viaticum*. Now, since he is in the very gulph, he may forego our assistance!

But, the French, our enemies! How do they now exult? Our finances are more undone than theirs. They have long been content to consume their national capital. Upon ours we shall not be able to enter deeply, without destroying like them our Constitution. They see us now at their mer-

cy. They triumph in our ruin. To see the Bank of England stop payment in coin, is to them, more than victory. They know the temper of our country. They will soon speed to fraternize us, as they have fraternized the Italians !

VL. These, Sir, are the glories of the administration of P—t and D——s ! These are the mighty blessings which their vicegerency has conferred upon Britain ! We might have gone to *war*, for the purpose of maintaining the rights of humanity, the laws of nations, the tranquility of Europe ! *They* have hurried us into *that very war*, upon the principles of robbers, with the views of tyrants, swindlers, and assassins ! Our prospect of effectual success was so sure ; that it seemed hardly possible for any concurrence of unlucky circumstances, or even for our own vice and folly, to blast it. For that expected success, *they* have overwhelmed us in almost irretrievable disgrace and misfortune. By *their* mal-administration, the valour of our soldiers, the ability of our commanders, the strength of our navy, the unequalled gallantry hardiness patriotism and prodigality of life with which our sailors fought ; have all been frustrated alike. *They* have poured out the dearest British blood, *even as if it had been water*. Ten times that quantity of our national wealth, which if rightly expended, might have brought the war to the most glorious conclusion ;

sion ; has been by *their* folly and perfidy wasted, in disabling the strength of Britain, and in placing us at the mercy of our foes. *They* have engaged us in alliances, only that our Allies might embarrass and enfeeble our efforts, and might be conducted to ruin by the participation of our ill fortune. In a pretended zeal for the preservation of our glorious Constitution ; *they* have abused the authority of Government, to the commission of acts of unexampled injustice, tyranny, and oppression ; *they* have held the whole nation in a state of eternal ferment, suspicion, distrust, mutual hatred, and anxious alarm ; *they* have endeavoured to set the laws at variance with the security and happiness of the people, for which alone they were instituted : *And they* have ended with multiplying an handful of *Democrats* into a mighty host, with erecting the spirit of those wretches from the most fearful despondency—to audacity bold, rabid, insolent, scarcely withholding its halts from our necks, its daggers from our bosoms ! *They* knew that the safety of our Constitution depended upon the fortune of the war ; *They* have pursued disaster still from one depth to another, until it seems that the last wrecks of that Constitution cannot but be buried in the abyss into which they have dragged us. Genius, virtue, accomplished experience, the fair promise of modest manly ingenuous youth ;
they

they have, for as much as was possible, sent to graze on a sandy desert, without one solitary spring of water, without one lonely spot of verdure. They knew that,

A bold peasantry, their country's pride,
If once destroyed, can never be supplied.

That peasantry, whether labourers in husbandry or artisans, *they* have first reduced to a condition in which they were obliged to enlist in order to procure bread; and have then dispersed them where they might perish by disease, whenever they could not be all driven into *the forefront* of a disastrous battle. *This Sangrado-blood-letting* was indeed their grand recipe for the cure of *Democracy*! Have not *they*, to crown the series of their errors and crimes, treated our commerce, our industry, the whole system of our foreign and internal traffic; as if these were not the foundation upon which our Constitution is established, the buttresses by which its walls are supported, the beams over which its roof is suspended? Have *they* not, in so doing, reduced us into a situation in which we cannot continue the war, cannot obtain peace, cannot maintain against our own crimes, errors, and miseries, the just authority of our own Government and laws? A situation in which the system of civil life seems suddenly to stand still among us, and to make an awful pause, prophetic of its end!—Was ever that portion of the majesty of the sovereign, which is necessarily intrusted to ministers, so wretchedly degraded before?

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fore? Our enemies scorn to negotiate with our ministry, because they believe them incapable of truth or faith: The frontless audacity of ill which distinguishes a bully, or the miserable hypocrisy of a coward, are the grand features of ministerial conduct in Parliament: Those very measures from which ministry promise the most good, are the measures the most serviceable to our internal and foreign enemies!

If, then, Sir, it be possible that such an union of wickedness and folly in Ministers, should fail of accomplishing the ruin of the Empire; if in our present circumstances, there be the faintest hopes, that, by them, either *Peace* can be procured upon terms worthy of our acceptance, or the *War* can be prosecuted with hopes of better success; if you are not, in your conscience, convinced, with all those peculiar advantages for extensive and correct information which you enjoy, that the starving poor, the despondent manufacturers, the ruined bankrupt merchants, the impoverished farmers, the landholders now at length generally disappointed of their rents,—cannot be relieved in the present state of Public Credit; if you sincerely think that the misfortunes of the present war, are the result of ill luck, and not of evil counsels; if you can deny that the dæmon of Democratical innovation has within these last three weeks gathered tenfold strength; if, in short, you think it possible for the British Constitution to remain
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for ten months longer, undissolved, without an entire change of men and measures in our Government :

Why, then, in God's name! Sir, continue to support P—t and D——s with your vote in Parliament, and your influence in the country ;—or at least oppose them, but partially, hesitatingly, with an appearance of being half-ashamed and half-afraid of your virtue ; as you have lately, in a few instances, done !

But, Sir, you are too well acquainted with the true principles of policy ; you are too well informed concerning the true state of the country ; I hope in God! you are too honest a man—to dare to offer any defence or any excuse for men whose pravity and stupidity would disgrace the most despised situation in private life ! Arise, then ! stand forward ! Make your talents, your virtues more conspicuously active ! Nothing but the want of real *ability*, or of genuine *virtue*, can make such a man as you to trifle, and waver—and stand *shilly-shally*—at so momentous a crisis.

I am not mistaken. The Parliament of Great Britain will not yet submit to be to a P—t and a D——s, what the Roman Senate was to a Tiberius and a Sejanus. They may have fatally erred. But, the folly, the disgrace, the guilt, is—not—to have erred,—but, to persist in error to utter ruin. Already a large and respectable body of independent members

members of Parliament have begun to act, as a Hampden and a Falkland in the best and soberest days of their patriotism, would have acted !

A *Portland* ; a *Windham* who, although too much the devoted disciple of the principles of Johnson and of Burke, is far from being a bad man ; all the better part of those who, at the commencement of the war, deserted with *them* from the ranks of Opposition : Having no object passionately at heart, save the defence and support of the British Constitution ; will now assuredly for the very same reason for which they then condescended to truckle under P—t and D——s ; abandon these unworthy ministers to the just punishment of their crimes ; and will eagerly join to repair, by better arts, those ruined mounds over which the sea of destruction is breaking in, to overwhelm all that is dear to the patriotism of Britons !

Nor must the talents and virtues of the small, gallant band of OPPOSITION, be forgotten. They have been carried too far in the heat of political and parliamentary contest. But, we perhaps owe it to them, that the ruin of Britain, is only on the point of consummation ; and not yet completely and finally consummated. Let me hope, that their exertions in an Administration, may yet be made the means of infinitely more good to their country,

try, than could possibly be accomplished by their *Opposition!*

The KING is understood to have in both Houses of Parliament,—FRIENDS who are attached to his Majesty alone, and at his pleasure and for his personal service, are prepared to detach themselves at any time, from whatever party they may have acted with. These men, surely, when they see the authority of the Crown thus abused, and its safety endangered; cannot but abandon Ministers who have proved the bitterest enemies of their Royal Master!

Under the strong impression of the miseries and dangers which oppress and beset the Nation; I hope I am not too sanguine, when I promise myself; that there will stand beyond, a powerful body of *independent British Gentlemen*, superior to all courtly influence and ministerial cabal: That those WHIGS who, erring, joined P—t and D—s, of purpose to save the Constitution, will now awaken from their error, and desert these men, for the same express reason for which they joined them: That a Fox, a Sheridan, a Grey, a Bedford, a Norfolk, a Lansdown, will earnestly meet the conciliatory advances of those bands, and will honestly say, *nobis vel militibus, vel ducibus utimini*: That, *in fine*, every loyal Nobleman or Commoner in Parliament to whom the House of Hanover, the dignity of the British Throne, the personal virtues

tues of George the Third, are peculiarly dear; will in this day of danger, add his credit, his voice, his counsels—to those of that body of Public Men, through whose efforts alone, we can escape destruction!

It is not necessary, that any should be absolutely *sacrati diis inferis*, save a P—t and a D——s, *quibus salvo, nulla patriæ salus!* Let us abandon them to the justice of their country. The example will be wholesome. Those few *creatures* who may be obliged to share their disgrace; having shared their crimes and their spoils; may go, swell the ranks of Democracy!

But, I will be more explicit; and, ere I conclude this too tedious epistle, will explain under a few heads, those measures which, in my judgment, can alone avert the *ruin of the British Constitution*, and the *fall of the British Empire*.

1. Of these, then, the first is an INSTANT CHANGE OF MINISTRY. P—t and D——s, with those immediately dependent on themselves, are the only persons who ought to be sacrificed! They cannot make a peace: Neither our Government nor our Banks can ever have credit while they are at the helm of affairs: The lower orders can never under their administration, be cordially reconciled to the higher: Our public faith must still, while they are Ministers, appear worse than that of a religious hypocrite or a swindling attorney.

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Let us see a new administration so formed, that the talents of the present Leaders of Opposition may be introduced to do as much good as possible in it; but may not have power to do mischief, either in the *Cabinet*, or in either *House of Parliament*. The talents of Fox and of LANSDOWN ought to be combined to give us *peace*. You, Sir, ought not to be overlooked in any new ministerial arrangement. Sir WILLIAM PULTENEY has still, I hope, health sufficiently vigorous, to undertake an active part in a new administration, without other views than those of patriotism. Perhaps the Duke of *Portland* would do well, to retire for a time from any ostensible situation under Government. But, his influence seems to be indispensibly necessary to those who shall attempt to serve their country. SHERIDAN's talents are too powerful, his parliamentary experience too great, his attachment to Fox of too long standing, to render it prudent, to leave him out of any new administration into which Fox shall enter. I cannot enter into a more particular and ample detail. Nor is it necessary that I should.

One thing indispensable, before any of the leading members of the present minority can be admitted into a new administration, is; that they make a *qualified*, moderated profession of their political creed,—in regard to the *origin* of the war, the *reform* of the *Constitution*,—the two *acts*,—
and

and a few other particulars. As to the origin of the war; I have been at some pains to state *those principles on which alone I think it possible for all parties to come to an agreement concerning it.* In regard to the *two Acts*, I should think that Mr Fox might contrive to manage in a new administration, much as Mr Pitt did in regard to the fatal *India-Bill*.

2. The first great measure of a new administration, must necessarily be, to negotiate a peace. Come what may; we cannot longer continue the war. No conditions of peace can be so unfortunate to us, as that universal public and private bankruptcy which must unavoidably attend the farther prosecution of the war.

Even in those circumstances of distress to which we and our Allies are reduced; it may perhaps be less difficult than might be supposed, to negotiate an advantageous peace; as soon as the French shall see a set of men at the head of British affairs, with whom they may transact *bonâ fide*. It will then be the true interest of the French Directory, to insist merely upon such terms of peace, as may serve virtually to *guarantee the existence of their republican government*, and such as may convince the people, that their *administration have not acted weakly*, either in warfare or negotiation. This is all they ought to desire. Should they ask more, they would be egregious fools.

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We, again, in our present situation, ought to *grant every thing that we can grant, without sacrificing our Constitution, our Independence, or the balance of power in Europe.*

About the time when *Lord Malmesbury* went to Paris; some mercantile gentlemen, I think they were,—hinted in the House of Commons, that it might be proper for us not to insist upon retaining possession of the Cape of Good Hope. They judged rightly. It is a very fine settlement: But it was very nearly as useful to us, in the hands of the Dutch, as it could ever be in our own. Besides, our East India settlements are, just now, too extensive.—Neither is it desirable, that we should retain all the newly conquered islands in the West Indies.—The French, too, talked of an arrangement for a pacification satisfactory to the Emperor of Germany, to be accomplished by the secularization of the Ecclesiastical Electorates.

Now, it is upon the consideration of these facts and circumstances; that I would found any new proposal for a Treaty of Peace, in our present circumstances. Let the Dutch settlements in the East: Let even the Cape of Good Hope be restored: Let us not hesitate to yield back to France and Spain, whatever we have taken from them in the West Indies: Let some common arrangement in regard to the slaves and people of colour, be agreed upon between the parties negotiating: Let us agree to a secularization of the Ecclesiastical

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Electorates of Germany, by which no individual may be injured: *But, let BELGIUM, and the DUTCH PROVINCES be united into one distinct and independent Commonwealth!* Let us not surrender an *inch of sea-coast* to France, within Europe: Let the King of Naples—be placed in security: Let the Italian Provinces conquered by the French, if they cannot be restored so as to satisfy the Emperor, be yet at least, erected into a new Commonwealth: And, let the subordinate and minute arrangements that shall be required, in the treaty of peace, be made to correspond and harmonize with these leading ones!

“But,” reclaim all our *shallow politicians*; “A peace on these terms will never secure us,—will not secure Europe, from being soon swallowed up by the grasping, all-conquering ambition of France. We must, even after concluding such a treaty, keep up a war-establishment, in time of peace. We must do this to prevent democracy from turning our Constitution topsy-turvy, as well as to prevent France from erecting a new Roman Empire in Europe.”

No; I tell you; No! There will be no such danger; you need entertain no such fears; you shall not need to maintain any such establishment. *In the present state of the reciprocal, political intercourse of the European nations; there is little danger, that the BALANCE OF POWER can be at any time, finally overturned.* It is well known to the respective

spective governments of all the different states and kingdoms in Europe; that any effectual, permanent derangement of the balance of power, endangers the existence of them all. Having this knowledge; they make it the grand object of all their foreign, political negotiations, to watch, to guard, to maintain this *balance of power*. For nearly these two hundred years, they have, *generally*, done so. They do it by a sort of invincible necessity of nature. Now this principle of jealousy of the balance of power, tends,—just as water, to a common level,—to maintain an equality between those two great parts into which the system of European power is ever divided. This prevented Francis the First from falling before his more powerful and more cunning rival Charles the Fifth. This exhausted, during the reign of Philip the Second, the strength and opulence of Spain. This enabled our William the Third to form an alliance that proved fatal to the ambition of Louis the Fourteenth of France. This it was which, at last crowned Britain with glory and victory, by the last events of the war of 1756. This too, enabled the states of North America to emancipate themselves from all subjection to the British Crown. Nay, the fears for the *balance of power*, which were excited by the grand alliance that began this present war against France, have done more perhaps than aught else, to crown the French republic with that success which

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we deplore. If we accept peace from the French in the present state of Europe; as surely as the sun shall continue to rise and set; so surely may we trust, that the general jealousy of the balance of power, together with the insolence of the French themselves; must quickly turn the preponderancy of the *balance* against them, and effectually check their ambition of universal empire. "They will soon fall back into their natural station. The gentle breath of peace, will leave them on the surface, neglected and unremoved. It is only the tempest that lifts them from their place." If one or two more republics should arise in Europe: *the balance of power* would but be, on this account, so much the more secure. Of all political neighbourhoods, the history of the world shews that those of republics are, ever, mutually the most jealous, the most on their guard against one another.—Nor let us dread that the example of the republican happiness of France, shall dispose us more passionately towards democracy, than we are disposed at present. *Political happiness* depends altogether upon private knowledge and private virtue, upon the general state of the morals and the manners of a people. A very little peaceful intercourse with the *French*, will convince the British nation; that *their* republican government is no more to be envied by us, than the republican governments of Holland, of Switzerland, Venice formerly were. In truth, *while the Press is free,*

free, while the voice of public opinion controuls the government; the nation among whom these things take place, is as effectually republican in its Constitution as it ever can be. If the removal of P--t and D---s had but once effectually quashed the wicked hopes and efforts of internal democracy; we have nought farther to fear from the contagion of that which is foreign.

3. The very dismissal of D---s and P--t will not fail to change, as if by the sudden operation of some happy spell, the whole face of commercial affairs, throughout the island. A *peace* negotiated, or even put, *with honest faith on our part*, into incipient negotiation; will call forth our British guineas from those holes, and from the depth of those coffers, in which they are now hidden. The treasury of the BANK OF ENGLAND, will then receive more than its former influx of supplies from all the ancient channels! And being no longer drained by the inexpleable aqueducts of Mr P--t; it will soon be raised to its due level of fulness. Yet something farther must be done.

I have seen and examined a considerable diversity of schemes which have been already proposed for the restitution of commercial credit, and to support the falling fortunes of the Bank of England. These are of various merit. *Your own*, Sir, is not without good sense and ingenuity. But, to me it appears

pears clear that nothing can effectually answer the end proposed, save *these two* measures.

Let the *Bank of England* be authorized by the legislature to *augment their capital* to such a sum as shall be found adequate to those great pecuniary transactions, for which their institution was destined. Their present *capital* is evidently inadequate to the transaction of that business which ought to pass through their hands only. If Government deal reasonably with them in arranging the conditions of this enlargement of their capital; it will be easy to re-establish the credit, the usefulness, the responsibility of the Bank, upon a firmer footing than ever.

Then, let the Directors of the Bank be restricted from *converting*, at any future period, *so large a proportion of its stock as appears to have been of late converted, out of coin and bullion, into any form that cannot be instantly reduced into legally payable gold and silver*. Let them be directed to narrow their discounts sooner, without regarding the complaints of private bankers, manufacturers, and traders. Let them be placed in a condition of sacred independence, in which they shall be able to resist all the importunities and seductions of a Chancellor of the Exchequer. Let them be made answerable for obedience to these restrictions, under penalties the heaviest and most severe. That *humane accommodation*, which might be prudent and virtuous, in one merchant or one private banker

banker to another; must in the Directors of the Bank of England, be treachery to the proprietors and to the whole nation. That adventuring which might be not imprudent for a private merchant,—must to any banker,—but above all, to a national bank,—be frantic madness and inevitable ruin.

The debt due from Government to the Bank, cannot be repaid. Its interest must be considered merely as a perpetual annuity. Perhaps in the present state of our finances, if the *capital* of the Bank shall be enlarged; that Bank may do something more for the accommodation of Government. But, let it have suitable terms in compensation.

4. I am, without hesitation, of opinion, that the British Government cannot be too speedy in doing somewhat to pacify the discontents and disturbances among the Irish.

Let a new and more acceptable Lord-Lieutenant be instantly sent them: And let precisely those terms of new political arrangement, be granted them; in which the three parties of the *Roman Catholics*, the *Church-of-England-men*, and the *Presbyterians* shall the most amicably agree; as the most satisfactory to their respective pretensions, and the most correspondent to their relative powers to urge these pretensions into effect. There is little danger that the Irish, if discreetly dealt with, should seriously strive to detach themselves from all subjection to the British Government. Their interests are so wholly

wholly interwoven with ours ; that nothing could be more fatally injurious to them, than to separate themselves altogether from us.

5. As to the question of *reform* in Britain ; I do not see that there is any immediate necessity for bustling very eagerly about it. As soon, however, as may be ; the *rotten*, almost uninhabited, burghs ought to be disqualified from sending representatives to Parliament ; and, on the other hand, a certain number of our most flourishing manufacturing villages, might be erected into *burghs* or *counties* with the right to elect parliamentary representatives. *I shall, perhaps, find another occasion for the thorough investigation of this subject.*

6. The regulation of our decayed *Finances*, is, another object of the most serious concern. It will be, at first, very difficult to find the new taxes wanted. But, the burthen must be borne. Let the new Administration take pains to place it so, that it may gall us as little as possible. A very few years of that prosperity which peace cannot fail to restore, will make it again sufficiently light.—It was this natural tendency of our national energies, to recruit themselves after a war, that gained to P—t and D——s, the praise of talents, which God and Nature, and their habits of life, had entirely denied to them. The foolish enthusiasm of *John Bull*, and sister *Peg*, was never more conspicuous than in their approbation of these wretched men
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and drivelling ministers. In private life, no one would ever have supposed that a college-boy, petulant and prating, fit only for a spouting club or a disputing society, could deserve to be honoured as an angel sent from heaven to save a sinking land. I have ever observed that forward, talkative, disputatious boys, who shine in the college-societies, turn out *the veriest of all dolts*, in manhood. The example of Mr P-t confirms the general fact. Of that corrupt, profligate, needy Scotch advocate, who *took to the state*, as others have at times *taken to the road*; how was it possible even for folly to suppose, that *any talents* could be allied to such *depravity*, that any ministerial offices could be, without madness, entrusted to him?

And now, Sir, I have finished the design of my present address to you. I have explained in what our *national wealth* truly consists: I have shewn the *ratio* and the *means* of its *augmentation*: I have investigated the *true points* in which the present war was originally *just*, and have endeavoured to demonstrate, where *its injustice* began: I have examined, in what degree, our national wealth and strength have been by *it* diminished: I have enumerated with fair impartiality, yet with a sorrowful indignant heart, some of those mischiefs which the mal-administration of D——s and P—t, has inflicted upon Britain: I think, that I have *irrefragably demonstrated* it to be impossible, to save our *Civil Constitution* from ruin, or our land from

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defolation, otherwise than by the *instant dismissal* of *D——s* and *P—t* from his Majesty's counsels, and by the formation of a new, more able, and more virtuous ministry : I have presumed to specify a few of the first leading measures which must be adopted by such a ministry, in order to renew the general prosperity of the Empire, and to revive the confidence of the British nation in their Constitution and Government. *Liberavi animam meam.*—No change can give consolation to this sad heart : No joy shall ever lighten these weeping eyes : Who shall bid the grave give me back my children ? Who shall restore a father's tenderness, a father's care to these poor orphans and their pining mother, the dear representatives of a brother, who fell the victim of a broken heart ? No ; *I* must soon follow those I mourn ; to me *they* cannot return ! But, no private distress shall ever extinguish in my breast the love of my country. *Save that country, heaven !* shall be my dying prayer.

But, what new visions of glory arise to my mind ? Methinks I see this land of saints and heroes, once more rejoice. I anticipate that renewed prosperity which a few years of *peace*, under a wise and upright administration, cannot fail to bestow on Britain. I see all the energies of beneficent *ingenuity* relieved from that depression under which they are now crushed. I see them expand and exert themselves ten thousand ways, with activity continually quickened and invigorated. The limbs of *industry*

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are again unfettered. A wise and virtuous government silences, by its beneficence, all the clamours of the profligate and turbulent advocates of revolutionary reform. Private subjects are, in general convinced ; that, it is not by changes of government ; but by the continual improvement of the knowledge and virtue of every person in the community ; that the happiness of civil life is to be perfected and secured. Population is diffused more equally throughout the land. The multiplication of roads, canals, bridges, posts, wheeled carriages ; confers upon the whole inhabitants of the isle, the same advantages of useful intercourse ; as if they were assembled in one great town, without being subjected to those evils of debauchery, secrecy favourable to vice, want, idleness, increase of the unproductive arts, which usually corrupt, harass, and debase that society which is crowded together in cities. Agriculture extends her reign even over the most fullen morasses and the bleakest hills. The continual application of philosophy to the improvement of the arts of life, makes man almost omnipotent over external nature. Religious sects no longer war against one another with a blind zeal founded in ignorance and vice, although building its pride on the pretence of piety, and the boast of inspiration. It is allowed by all, that, in the present imperfection of human nature, there can be no general plan adopted for the continual

moral

moral instruction of all ranks, that shall answer the purpose better than national, religious establishments. Our intercourse with foreign nations becomes still more amicable and more beneficial. Partly the cumbroufness of our establishments for the culture of the arts of peace, and in part the improving knowledge and virtue of mankind in general, make the renewal and the lengthened prosecution of wars continually more difficult. *Private* motives are still more and more excluded from all influence on the conduct of *public* men. The wishes of D——s and P——t are almost gratified in the total oblivion of themselves and their administration. They are remembered,—only in the same manner, as the *Great Frost*; as the famous *Mirk Monday*; as that loathsome *Leprosy* which we know merely from the records of the old Monkish historians; as that *Pestilence* which, four centuries ago, is said to have consumed more than one half of the inhabitants of Europe!

HERIOT'S BRIDGE, }
April 20th, 1797. }

RALPH ANDERSON.



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